This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

UC-NRLF
$B 265 690

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

OTHER BOOKS BY BISHOP COOKE

CHRISTIANITY AND CHILDHOOD.

FREEDOM OF THOUGHT IN RELIGIOUS TEACHING.

THE HISTORIC EPISCOPATE.

HISTORY OF THE RITUAL OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, WITH A COMMENTARY ON ITS OFFICES.

THE INCARNATION AND RECENT CRITICISM.

JUDICIAL DECISIONS OF THE GENERAL CONFERENCE OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

QUESTIONS FOR HIGH CHURCHMEN.

REASONS FOR A CHURCH CREED.

THE WINGLESS HOUR.

Digitized by Google

THE CHURCH AND WORLD PEACE

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

By
RICHARD J. COOKE
Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church

THE ABINGDON PRESS
NEW YORK CINCINNATI

Digitized by Google

JX1953
C6

UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA

Copyright, 1920, by
RICHARD J. COOKE.

Digitized by Google

J7C

TO

ROBERT J. FISHER

WHOSE HUMAN SYMPATHIES NEVER FAIL;
WHOSE INTERESTS IN THE KINGDOM
NEVER FLAG, THESE PAGES ARE
AFFECTIONATELY INSCRIBED.

Digitized by Google

585999

Digitized by Google

CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
	PREFACE	9
I.	DEMAND FOR A LEAGUE OF NATIONS	13
II.	IS A LEAGUE OF NATIONS POSSIBLE?	27
III.	IS A LEAGUE OF NATIONS POSSIBLE? —CONTINUED	46
IV.	POLITICAL DIFFICULTIES	63
V.	NEED FOR CHRISTIAN LEAGUE	76
VI.	STATES NEED THE CHURCH	84
VII.	THE MISSION OF ISRAEL	99
VIII.	THE HISTORICAL MISSION OF JESUS	116
IX.	THE DUTY OF THE MODERN CHURCH	130
X.	THE FUTURE	165

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

PREFACE

MANY books and pamphlets have been written on the League of Nations: those by Earl Grey, British Minister for Foreign Affairs during the war, and Mathias Erzberger, at that time member of the Reichstag, being the most important, but no work, so far as I could find, has been published on the relations of the church to the purposes of the League.

The question, however, is of the greatest importance. No one who appreciates the difficult problems, complex and distracting in variety, character and scope, confronting governments in Europe, will fail to apprehend the significance of the subject. In England, since this work was begun, a notable conference of the representatives of all churches, Anglican and Nonconformist, was held, and another is to be called by the Archbishop of Canterbury, to discuss ways and means by which the churches might cooperate with the government to make the League effective in bringing peace to the world.

Digitized by Google

It is a difficult theme to handle. Those who are alive to the crisscross currents of thought running at this time in every land, each changing its course as new factors emerge in the swirling seas, will appreciate the difficulty of reaching final and satisfactory conclusions. It is not easy to write history while it is in the making, nor very wise to forecast conclusions which may have no premise.

However, there are certain fixed facts, and starting from these I have endeavored to outline in a brief, but perhaps sufficiently comprehensive manner, the imperative duty of the universal church to the Allied powers in their efforts to establish perpetual peace. Others who may have more time than I have may go further into the many questions suggested in almost every chapter, especially the particular, energetic influence which certain churches might exert among the peoples in various countries—the Roman Catholics in Bavaria and other South German States, in France, in Italy; the Church of England through the Holy Synod upon the adherents of the Russian Church, and also upon those of the Greek Orthodox Communion; the Baptist Church in the United States upon large masses in Russian dissent, the Methodist Episcopal

Digitized by Google

Church upon numerous and influential constituencies in various European countries, the Presbyterian Church in Bulgaria and Asia Minor. To have taken up each of these churches and discussed their relations to the people, the churches and the governments in Europe, and the assistance they might be able to give the League of Nations, would have led me far beyond my original intention. What is here presented may be accepted, it is hoped, as an introduction, at least, to one of the most important questions of our day, a question which will grow larger in world-wide interest as the League of Nations is seen to become either a saving power or a melancholy failure in the binding of the nations in universal brotherhood.

I wish to acknowledge the courtesy of the publishers of the Methodist Review, New York, for their permission to use some extracts from articles by the writer during the war in that Review, and also the kind services of the Book Editor in his careful reading of the proof-sheets.

R. J. C.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

CHAPTER I

DEMAND FOR A LEAGUE OF NATIONS

THE world war is over. The legacy of war remains. The whirlwind of death which left nothing it could destroy is passed, but exhausted nations look with horror on the destruction wrought and turn with nerveless hands to the work of restoration. Has the war paid? That depends. If the transforming ideals which inspired the will to conquer shall fade away, if the determination to rid the world of evil heritages and to give it a new start in freedom shall be swallowed up in the maws of selfish interests; if, after all that has been done, nothing is left, after a while, but the same old world of international strife, a world of stark-naked materialism in which ancient wrongs, forgetfulness of God, and deification of the Strong, shall again blur justice and the sense of human brotherhood, then the war has not paid.

But if out of this twilight of yesterday a new world shall arise in which men shall have

Digitized by Google

a fair chance to live their lives self-governed, sunlit, God-centered, then the war has paid. It has paid, because there can be no question that the spiritual is more than the material; that freedom of the individual and the liberty of small states, as of great states, to develop their own racial spirit is worth more to humanity than the supremacy of gross conceptions of state-might, of "scientific efficiency," mechanical, dry, and hard, which a false culture, nurtured by a materialistic philosophy, would impose upon the souls of men. If victory of right over sheer might is worth anything at all, there can be no debate as to whether the war has paid or not.

The struggle for equity has given the world a mighty push forward; and if war can be outlawed in human thought, the world will never go back. Humanity has been lifted to a higher plane of evolution, and, however poorly practiced as yet while the world is finding itself, ideals of justice and opportunity have been substituted for the jungle cries of class struggle and race hatred. Nor is there shadow of doubt, notwithstanding apparent reaction since the war, of the heightening of spiritual values which the war has brought to men everywhere. When men once get a glimpse of God

Digitized by Google

they are never the same again. The immensity of the conflict, its appalling revelation of evil springing up from the heart of the world, the latent savagery and progressive diabolism which the bloody struggle evoked, and the terrible mystery which hung over it all as to its purpose in the scheme of things, have awakened the souls of men as if from a dream to the reality of God, to the need of a supernatural power to control the forces which the iniquity of man had turned loose in what was once God's world, but just then seemed crashing down to chaos.

Nevertheless, the law which seems to dominate in the world of the spirit that there is no salvation without sacrifice, has exacted from humanity a staggering price, and notwithstanding all the benefits that may have come to the world from this struggle, if war is to continue, the question still remains, Has the war paid?

The loss to civilization is incalculable. Civilization itself is of slow growth. A nation may be lifted out of barbarism in a few hundred years, but it may take a thousand years to get barbarism out of a people, since development is gradual and difficult, while relapse is swift and easy.

Digitized by Google

Human progress depends upon diffusion of knowledge and obedience to moral law. Such is the nature of the human spirit that no nation ever did, or ever can, live devoid of morality or religion, and what it cannot live without it cannot progress without.

It is evident that the greater the number of educated men in any period, men who to previously acquired knowledge add new discoveries and popularize philosophical, political, and religious truth among the masses, the more highly developed will be the civilization of that period. It cannot, therefore, be other than an immeasurable moral loss to civilization when men of intellect—scientists, inventors, promising buds of genius in literature and the fine arts—are cut off at the beginning of their careers, and all that they might have been to the world perishes with them. The hoped-for results of their study and research remain among the shadows of things that might have been, but never were. Such losses are irreparable. Cities may be destroyed and built again. War may devastate regions of fruitful country and destroy innumerable industries, and time, which heals all wounds, will restore both; but when masses of intellectuals, leaders in thought and social develop-

Digitized by Google

ment, are wiped out, that loss never can be regained.

And it is just this that this war has done. In every land seats of learning, colleges and universities, sent their instructors and students with the rank and file of the country to the battlefield, and thousands of scholars, scientists, workers in every realm of intellectual activity, laid down their lives in every part of the world. For this war embraced humanity. It extended to the remotest bounds of civilization and drained the manpower of every land. What Lord Macaulay wrote of Frederick the Great of Prussia, "In order that he might rob a neighbor whom he promised to defend, black men fought on the coast of Coromandel, and red men scalped each other by the Great Lakes of North America," is literally true of his descendant William II, the Calamity of Germany. In order that *he* might obtain imperial ascendency over his neighbors, the fields of France and Flanders were drenched with the best blood of Europe, an infidel race massacred Christian peoples in the vilayets and mountains of Armenia, English slaughtered German in the Jungles of Africa, and semicivilized tribes who never heard of Pan-German-

Digitized by Google

ism destroyed each other in the isles of the Pacific. 60,000,000 men participated in the war. Of this number 7,000,000 are dead and nearly 6,000,000 are crippled for life.

The material losses are beyond computation. Northern France is a desert. From the Vosges to the North Sea, in a country about five hundred miles long and comprising some six thousand square miles, the besom of destruction has done its work. Before the war this territory was supporting a population of two million, and these were among the most prosperous in all Europe. Its varied industries, its rich mines of coal and iron, its agriculture, producing in 1913 nearly $400,000,000 worth of crops, constituted for the largest part the economic life of France. Now all is gone. This once fruitful region is a Sahara. The land is ripped and torn; towns, villages, and cities are reduced to dust and piles of ashes; dwellings, factories, public buildings, schools, churches, cathedrals, monuments, pious memorials of ancient days, all are gone. Here and there a broken arch or a crumbling wall, gaunt skeletons of the past, indicate where once civilization stood.

Over one million two hundred thousand acres of timber land have been destroyed. The

Digitized by Google

Germans, inflamed by the rankest hatred and envy of the prosperity of France, sought not only to defeat her armies in the field, if that were possible, but by destroying her arts, her industries and agriculture, her mines of coal and iron ore, endeavored to bury the knife so deep into the very vitals of her industries that she could never again recover from the blow. In the coal fields more than $500,000,000 worth of machinery, including mills, has been destroyed. Some of the mines have been so badly damaged with the deliberate purpose of preventing industrial resurrection that it will require ten years of labor to put them in workable condition. The iron ore regions have suffered the loss of millions. In the textile industry machinery worth over $120,000,000 has been destroyed. Of the sugar refineries of France, seventeen out of two hundred and ten remain. Two thousand brush factories out of three thousand were shot to dust. Electric power stations valued with equipment at $50,000,000 were ruined, and in machine shops and foundries machinery worth $160,000,000 was either taken away into Germany or smashed with hammers, as photographs of the Germans at the heroic business show. The official documents in Current History, March,

Digitized by Google

1919, page 516, from which these figures are taken, sum up the total damage in the North of France including buildings, agriculture, industry, furniture, and public works, as amounting to $13,000,000,000.

Belgium is a cemetery. Her industrial centers are destroyed. In every manufacturing town, city, and village what the Germans could not cart away into Germany, from an iron door knob, or a copper kettle, to the most valuable machinery in every trade, her agents of *Kultur* maliciously destroyed. This was not the wanton destruction of vandals who destroy from an impulse of savagery, but, as in France, a deliberate purpose to annihilate the industrial life of the people. Millions will be necessary to restore to Belgium the means of production. So vast is the loss caused by the war in the destruction of industries in Russia, Roumania, Serbia, Poland, in every nation invaded by Germany and her Allies, that to the human mind totals in figures mean nothing. But leaving out all such losses, and all losses occurring from the destruction of cities and towns and communes, and taking account only of the expenditures of the warring nations which went up mostly in smoke, the sum total, according to Secretary

Digitized by Google

of War Baker, March 3, 1919, amounted to $197,000,000,000; that is about $11,000,000,000 more than all the wealth accumulated here since Columbus discovered America.

Realizing as the world never has before the horrors of war, the suffering of innocent peoples—women and children—and the loss of all that the toil of ages has produced, the question which the people in every nation must now decide is, *Shall war be continued, or shall it be abolished forever?*

That it is in the power of man to abolish war cannot be denied. Have the nations the will? From the dawn of history the world has had war; nevertheless, world peace has been the dream of ages. Statesmen, philosophers, bishops of the church, and even kings and emperors, as Henry IV of France and Alexander I of Russia, have employed their talents and exerted their influence for its realization. Henry IV, or his prime minister, Rosney, the Duke of Sully, proposed to unite all European states and kingdoms into one grand confederation with a Supreme Court to arbitrate controversies. Grotius (1583-1645) enunciated the principles of international law and laid therewith the foundations of universal peace. Later, following the peace of Utrecht, the

Digitized by Google

French Abbé, Saint Pierre, projected a plan on similar lines. The great Powers were to form an alliance and by means of a court, composed of judges from all the states, to settle all disputes between the nations. Other publicists, Comenius, Puffendorf, Temple, Montesquieu (1689-1755), Turgot, French minister of finance (1727-1781), and the German philosopher Immanuel Kant, in his essay on "Perpetual Peace" (1784), contributed to the universal desire of the nations impoverished by wars to which there seemed no end. It was hoped that the Congress of Vienna, 1815, through the influence of the Russian Czar, Alexander I, who endeavored to form a Holy Alliance, would inaugurate an era of peace, but the selfishness of Prussia, the rivalry of petty kingdoms, and the chicanery of diplomats like Metternich and Talleyrand, whose greatest service to the world was their leaving it, frustrated the efforts of the Russian emperor, and the Congress that it was hoped would usher in a millennium of peace ended in disappointment and sowed the seed of future wars.

Thus it has always been. After every great war reaction, following a general law, sets in, and the desire for peace gives rise to peace con-

Digitized by Google

gresses. But every peace congress, beginning with that of the Peace of Westphalia, at the close of the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648), the Quadruple Alliance of November, 1815; the Diplomatic Congresses of Aix-le-Chapelle, in 1818; of Troppau, in 1820; of Laibach, 1821; of Verona, in 1822; the Peace Conference of Paris, 1856; the Congress of Berlin, 1878; the Hague Congress of 1899; the London Conference of 1908—every one of them for the past three hundred years has resulted in failure.

Nevertheless, like the hope of immortality, which asserts itself despite all doubts, the desire for perpetual peace still persists despite all failures. Statesmen and leaders of public affairs and of the largest thinking in every nation, believe that peace is possible—that peace, and not war, is the natural condition of human happiness.

In the United States the governors of States, heads of industries, and political and ecclesiastical conventions have declared in favor of a League of Nations. In the United States the senators who have shown the most critical hostility to the proposed plan of the League as presented by President Wilson, are nevertheless in favor of a League that will insure peace,

Digitized by Google

without unnecessarily involving the United States in European conflicts should such arise. Political parties favor such a League. The Republican State Convention, held at Saratoga on July 19, 1918, adopted a platform which declared:

We favor the immediate creation by the United States and its Allies of a League of Nations to establish, from time to time to modify, and to enforce the rules of international law and conduct. The purpose of this League should be not to displace patriotism or devotion and loyalty to national ideals and traditions, but, rather, to give to these new opportunities of expression in co-operation with the other liberty-loving nations of the world. To membership in the League any nation might be admitted that possesses a responsible government which will abide by the rules of law and equity, and by those principles of international justice and morality which are accepted by civilized people.

The Democratic Platform of 1916 declared:

We hold that it is the duty of the United States to use its power not only to make itself safe at home, but also to make secure its just interests throughout the world; and both for this end and in the interest of humanity, to assist the world in securing settled peace and justice.

Thus a new attempt to bind the nations of the earth in concord and amity is now engaging as never before in human history the earnest endeavors of statesmen in all countries.

Digitized by Google

DEMAND FOR A LEAGUE OF NATIONS

On May 27, 1916, President Wilson said:

The repeated utterances of the leading statesmen of most of the great nations now engaged in war have made it plain that their thought has come to this—that the principle of public right must henceforth take precedence over the individual interest of particular nations, and that the nations of the world must in some way band themselves together to see that right prevails as against any sort of selfish aggression; that henceforth alliance must not be set up against alliance, understanding against understanding, but that there must be a common agreement for a common object, and that at the heart of that common object must lie the inviolable rights of peoples and of mankind. . . . So sincerely do we believe in these things that I am sure I speak the mind and wish of the people of America when I say that the United States is willing to become a partner in any feasible association formed in order to realize these objects, and to make them sure against violation.

On August 3, 1918, former Prime Minister Asquith said in England's Parliament:

The great mass of thoughtful opinion in Europe, as in America, is now convinced that we shall have fought in vain unless before we lay down our arms we have achieved at least the beginning of a great international partnership to be built upon the lines of a practical policy for establishing and enforcing the world-wide reign of justice and for making wars to cease to the end of the earth.

It must be evident then to every patriotic American, and especially to the Christian

Digitized by Google

Church as a vital force in the life of the world, and as the only exponent of the gospel of the Prince of Peace, that such a movement projected by leaders of political thought is entitled to the most earnest and sympathetic consideration.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER II

IS A LEAGUE OF NATIONS POSSIBLE?

In view of the difficulties in gaining universal acceptance of this proposed League, not to mention the compulsory signing of it in principle by Germany, Austria, Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria, no more serious questions can engage the thought of our time than these: 1. Is any League of Nations that can be relied upon practically possible? 2. Can this League be made permanent without the aid of the Church universal?

These are fundamental questions. In the nature of things, such questions command attention; for if in the constitution of nature and the imperative demands of human existence a League of Nations is impracticable, then this League, like previous attempts, is doomed to failure.

Consider then: Is a League of Nations possible? Advocates of militarism, many experi-

Digitized by Google

enced diplomats, and portions of the press in various countries, contend that such a League is neither possible nor desirable. It is not possible, they declare, for the reason that no League can maintain its coherency because of the necessarily conflicting interests of the several units entering into its composition. The economic interests of the governments composing the League are not identical, nor can they remain in *status quo*. Each state differs from another state in natural resources, in manufacturing skill, and access to markets, and must differ in the future. States grow. No state can wait for the economic, social, or political development of another. And it is just here, in the struggle for existence, that national interests clash, and decadence or war becomes the forced alternative of the weaker nation.

Further, apart from the foregoing, after the experience which the world has had with Germany in her disregard for treaties, her contempt for international law, her subtlety in diplomacy, her willingness to be deceived if the certainty of victory is assured, and her shifting of responsibility should her ambitions be defeated, could the governments of the Entente hope to maintain the solidarity of a

Digitized by Google

League in which there will be sixty or seventy nations, if unregenerated Germany becomes a member of the League? What will happen if she does not? Could the nations trust such a people in a League to enforce peace, which means that they shall be compelled to renounce forever the political insanities which her statesmen and writers now cherish? Will the German people, as a whole, be content with the economic state which their follies and the verdict of the war they desired have forced upon them? Would not the *forced* signers of the League Covenant—Germany, Bulgaria, Turkey, and the remnant of Austria—be disintegrating elements in a League which prevents their resurrection to former power?

On the side of the militarists it is declared that, if a league were possible, it would not be desirable, for the reason that war saves great states from all those ills that corrupt the life of states enervated by peace. In his Politics, Chapter XXVIII, the historian Treitschke affirms also that war is a necessity to any first-class power. "We have already seen," he writes, "that war is both justifiable and moral, and that the ideal of perpetual peace is not only impossible but immoral as well. . . . The mere fact of the existence of many states in-

Digitized by Google

volves the necessity of war." "The dream of eternal peace," said Frederick the Great, "is a phantom which each man rejects when the call of war rings in his own ears." Treating of the constructive forces in the building of the state, he says: "We learn from history that nothing knits a nation more closely together than war. It makes it worthy of the name of nation as nothing else can." And of war itself he declares, "Without war no state could be. All those we know arose through war, and the protection of their members by armed force remains their primary and essential task. War, therefore, will endure to the end of history as long as there is a multiplicity of states. The laws of human thought and of human nature forbid any alternative, neither is one to be wished. The blind worshiper of eternal peace falls into the error of isolating the state, or dreams of one which is universal, which we have already seen to be at variance with reason."

But even if a League of Nations were both possible and desirable, how can the decisions of such a League become enforced upon a nation that felt itself unjustly treated and was strong enough to reject the decrees of the League, without producing war? On August

Digitized by Google

8, 1918, in the House of Commons Premier Lloyd George said:

I am a believer in a League of Nations, but its success must depend on the conditions under which it is set up. The people who made the war still are there in Germany, and they cannot have peace as long as they predominate in the councils of the enemy.

It might conceivably happen that the Germans, by actions rather than words, might insist that they have suffered not a military but an economic defeat. But next year they would take care that they would not be short. Every time you came to a conference with the intention of reaching a decision the Prussian sword would clank on the council table. What is the good undertaking peace negotiations under these conditions?

There must be power behind a League of Nations to enforce its decrees. We all want peace, but it must be just, durable, and moral. There must be power behind that justice which would enforce its decisions, and all who enter the conference must know that. When we have demonstrated to the enemy that such a power exists peace will come, but not any sooner.

History is ever in flux. All treaties and agreements between states are therefore conditional, they are entered into *rebus sic stantibus,* since no nation can bind itself eternally to a treaty that might limit its sovereignty which it cannot renounce, and which it may be wholly at variance with under changed political conditions. "No courts of arbitration," again says Treitschke, who as a historian fur-

Digitized by Google

nishes the arguments for those who oppose all leagues for world peace, "will ever succeed in banishing war from the world. It is utterly impossible for other members of the group of nations to take an impartial view of any question vitally affecting one of their number. Parties there must be, if only because the nations are bound together, or driven apart by living interests of the most various kinds." "International congresses are quite capable of finding legal formula for the results of a war, but they can never avert the outbreak of it" (Politics, Vol. II., p. 598).

It need not be contended that this eminent writer is wholly wrong, or that he could not draw from modern history numerous instances to illustrate or establish his conclusions. The defect in his philosophy, however, is that he makes no allowance for moral progress. The idea of a world-conscience, or the development of an international mind, never seems to have entered his head. Like all other defenders of war, he is immovably fixed in the conviction of the immutability of human nature, and therefore assumes that what has been will be.

But it is nevertheless just toward this international mind, despite all that may be said

Digitized by Google

concerning the unchangeableness of human nature, that evolution is slowly working. From the beginning evolution wrought on the physical, then shifted to the mental; and the line of development now is toward the moral, letting "the ape and tiger die." From whatever point we study the evolution of man, social, political, or religious, we see that the result has been the gradual growth of his sense of abstract justice, the broadening of his sympathies, his enlarging interest in the affairs of people outside his immediate relationship.

It is a long way from the philosophy of Cain to the teachings of Jesus; from regarding all not members of one's tribe or of one's city as aliens liable to slavery or death, to the cry of Terentius, "Nothing human is foreign to me!" or to the word of Saint Paul, "Ye are all members one of another"; and it is a mighty long way the nations have come from looking upon the invasion of neutral states as a probable necessity of war, to universal condemnation of such violation of international law.

The human mind which emerges from belief in a multiplicity of gods to the conception of one God who is everybody's God, a God of justice, of holiness and of infinite love; the

Digitized by Google

mind that from confused notions of antagonistic forces in nature, self-destroying and tending to chaos, rises to the conception of order and beauty in the universe, to the unity of nature, to the reign of law, and the correlation and conservation of forces—this mind cannot in its evolution toward that which is perfect stop short of perfect realization of the moral and social unity of the race. Evolution never ceases till its objective is reached, till the initial impulse in any direction is carried through and blossoms out in perfection. There seems to exist no reason whatever in the nature of things why the human intellect should not reach this stage of development. To affirm that this is beyond the power of evolution is to say that human nature is incapable of improvement beyond a certain limit; that the same intellect which can invent a deadly engine of war cannot invent a way to make that instrument useless. But human nature while far gone in unrighteousness is not wholly bad, capable only of inventing evil. It can "rise on the stepping-stones" of its sinfulness and stupidity to higher things. The history of man is the story of his redemption. He is not on a circle, he is on a spiral. The moral progress of the race is a refutation of its

Digitized by Google

unchangeable immorality and is sure prophecy of its future.

With this developing sense of international relationship there must develop likewise a stronger altruistic sense, and with this, also, under the influence of religion, a growing conviction of moral obligation. Once this conviction of obligation and the idea of human brotherhood takes possession of a people, the moral forces which are now at work with less resistance than at any time in the world's history, will make both a commonplace reality in all national and international relations. The wrong done to a savage in Africa will be a wrong done to everyone everywhere, and justice will be demanded for him at the seat of every government, as every government now demands protection for its citizens in whatever part of the world, and under whatever government they may happen to be.

The realization of this ideal is not impossible. The sentiment of nationality, which was born in the throes of the Reformation, has grown steadily through the years until it has now become dominant in the political thought of the twentieth century. "First," Viscount Morley says, "it inflamed visionaries, then it grew potent with the multitudes, who thought

Digitized by Google

the foreigner the author of their wretchedness. Thus nationality went through all the stages. From instinct it became idea; from idea abstract principle; then fervid prepossession; ending where it is to-day, in dogma whether accepted or evaded."

It is, therefore, not at all a baseless dream that human brotherhood, now perhaps only a philanthropic idea, may become a working reality. When that day arrives war will become a memory. Moral ideals compete for supremacy, just as do other ideals, and we may rest assured that the fittest will survive. But no ideal can be more fitting and gripping than human interest in human welfare. This is the international mind. This is the Christ mind. This is the missionary mind, the church mind. It is this mind which is slowly displacing the parochial mind.

But this international mind, which will be a factor in eliminating war and misery, Treitschke never thinks of. He never rises above a narrow, selfish nationalism. Internationalism neither destroys nor weakens nationalism, but, like the good Samaritan, it goes beyond nationalism, mental and social provincialism, as one's sympathies while centered in his home may yet go out to all other homes. It

Digitized by Google

is toward the development of this mind in human affairs that the currents of history surely flow.

But, passing from Treitschke and his philosophy, among the most formidable difficulties, which on the surface seems to render perpetual peace impossible, is the difficulty arising from the unchangeable laws of nature. Will the inevitable growth of nations, the increase of population, and the resultant demand for expansion in colonial possession permit of such a League? Nations must grow or die. Are we not therefore attempting by such a League to restrain the working of nature's laws. Are we not attempting to build again another Tower of Babel? To illustrate, according to a well-known Japanese publicist, M. Kawakami: During the past half century Japan's population has been increasing at the rate of 400,000 a year. Where there were 33,000,000 Japanese fifty years ago, there are to-day about 54,000,000. As the total area of Japan proper is about 148,756 square miles, the density of population is about 356 per square mile. If we leave out of consideration Hokkaido, the northern island, the density increases to 451 per square mile. Now, what can any government do with such a congested

Digitized by Google

country, except to encourage colonization? But Japan has no colonies and no place to which her surplus population may emigrate. Neither Korea nor Formosa offers any territory, since they also are badly congested, having 187 inhabitants to the square mile. Japan has not sufficient natural supply of coal or iron for her industrial needs, hence she looks to mining concessions in China. But the great nations of Europe seek to block her efforts in that direction, although they have had no compunctions about obtaining all kinds of concessions for themselves.

The vital force of a people cannot be confined. It is life, and life resents restraint. Life must have space. It must have suitable environment for the exercise of its energy. Every vigorous state, therefore, must provide for its surplus population, or die of starvation. The more mouths there are to feed the smaller must be the loaf. Such a state or nation must, therefore, create large colonies, or scatter its people by emigration in other countries, among other peoples, to the great loss of the homeland, and the gain of the foreign land. Can such a state, "cribbed, cabined, and confined," ever become a great state, a world power? And does not this whole question ac-

Digitized by Google

centuate the still further difficult question of the rights of neighboring small states to exist at all, as Belgium or Holland, in competition with powerful adjoining states in the struggle for existence?

Then again, is it possible to eradicate selfishness and greed from human nature, to restrain human passion, national egotism, the ambition of militarism, its hunger for glory and lust of conquest? For, unless a curb is put on the rapacity of corporation thieves, the land-lust of kings and emperors, and even of democracies; unless some restraint is put on the passions of peoples aroused by wrongs, real or invented, and instead of these desires a mighty impulse be given the masses of the people toward universal good as the universal goal, there never can be enduring peace. As the known possession of wealth in a house is an inducement to burglars, or flashing jewels on the person is a temptation to highwaymen, so the material resources of a weak state have often invited the cupidity of commercial enterprises to reach out, under the guise of legitimate business, for the undeveloped wealth of a feeble and backward people. Can one for a few dollars buy hundreds or thousands of fertile acres, worth millions, from an impov-

Digitized by Google

erished people and not create in the soul of them sullen hostility? Have the rich oil fields, the gold and silver mines of Mexico never aroused the sublime patriotism of American financiers for the honor of the flag and the sanctity of invested rights? Have the diamond fields of Africa never influenced world politics in Downing Street? Has the rubber on the Congo never excited the greed of European commerce? It is not intimated that undeveloped wealth should lie buried for the lack of capital, but without any knowledge of the negotiations, the secret and unscrupulous methods of corporation chicanery in exploiting the property of poverty-stricken people, have we not been ready to fight for the inviolability of commercial interests, when in reality we were only ministering to the insatiable avarice of thieves and robbers? Have we never heard of crooked diplomacy manipulated by powerful aggregations of wealth forcing unwilling trade upon a helpless people? The cupidity and dishonesty of capitalistic combinations which claim their country's protection while robbing other people are not identical with a square deal for those nations, nor are such combinations indispensable promoters of international peace.

Digitized by Google

But, after all, one of the strongest arguments against leagues of peace is the biological argument to which we will again refer. War, it is affirmed, is a necessity. The natural laws of the struggle for existence are universal in their operation and must necessarily drive nations whose interests clash into war, despite all that the power of man can do to prevent it. "War," wrote Bernhardi, "is a biological necessity." "The struggle for existence is in the life of nature, the basis for all healthy development." "So long as there are nations who strive for an enlarged sphere of activity so long will conflicting interests come into being and occasions for making war arise." "Struggle is, therefore, a universal law of nature, and the instinct of self-preservation which leads to struggle is acknowledged to be a natural condition of existence."

Now, if this contention be true—that war has its basis in natural law—then, here again, it is conclusive that all the peace societies in the world can never succeed in their resistance to the omnipotent impulse of natural law; and that, as Von Moltke said, "while wars are inhuman, eternal peace is a dream." But is it true? Is it a law of necessity grounded in the nature of things that, notwithstanding free-

Digitized by Google

dom of will, each generation must prepare for war in the next? Must we toil and build and think, and develop national resources, only to have the labors of hand and brain blown to dust in a few years, and that by those who are now children in our homes and schools? Is this a necessity? Forty years of peace in Europe prior to this eruption would indicate that war is not a necessity. There is scarcely a war in history, excepting wars of defense and struggles for freedom, that can be justified on the ground of necessity in nature. Neither the wars of Napoleon, nor those of Frederick the Great, nor those of Prussia under the Bismarckian regime, can be charged to any other cause than the avowed ambition of these warriors. No sane man will allege that this world war, solely the outcome of Germany's ambition for the hegemony of the world, was due to an irresistible necessity grounded in the constitution of nature.

Once this is admitted—and conceded it must be—all argument for war as *a necessity* is at once dissipated. One might as well argue that injustice is a necessity. Wrong is friction in the world's machinery. But friction is not a necessity. War is the breakdown of reason. War, that is, wars of aggression,

Digitized by Google

wars for territorial gain, for extension of commerce, for forcing religion or *Kultur* upon defenseless peoples, under the guise of blessing them with a superior civilization—all such wars are nothing more or less than deliberate murder. War is murder.

It is not inferred from this, however, that all war is wrong. The intent of an act determines the morality of the act, but the intent itself is determined by the end sought. Wars in self-defense cannot be wrong. Invasion must be resisted, despotisms destroyed, liberty defended. Such wars cannot be wrong, unless the police forces of the universe, the moral and physical laws of God which work automatically in punishment of violated law, are wrong. If morality endures, morality must be defended.

Nor can it be affirmed in all fairness that war is never a benefit to civilization. Sweeping generalizations are generally sweeping assumptions. Constitutional changes in favor of Liberalism in European governments during the last one hundred years had close connection with war, if they were not in almost every instance its immediate product. Expansion of empire, as of England in India, France in Algiers, the independence of the

Digitized by Google

United States, of Holland and Switzerland, the freedom of oppressed nationalities in eastern Europe, and of the black race in America, have all been the result of war. And if Germany, like Lucifer fallen from heaven, has lost her political and economic supremacy, the victories of the Allies which established the supremacy of right over might, and the liberation of small nationalities from political bondage, have been a distinct gain to civilization.

The remarkable fact, however, which must not be overlooked, is that every war which had its origin in national greed, egoism, and disregard of justice, has resulted, in the long run, not to the benefit of the aggressor, but to his lasting injury. The empire which Bismarck established by rank injustice and the mailed fist on Austria, Denmark, and France, has fallen, as Babylon fell, as the Napoleonic empire fell, as all empires of force have fallen and must ever fall, even at the very height of their power and planning new conquests and greater glory. God is never in a hurry. He knows that there is no loophole in the universe through which the criminal can escape from the consequences of his crime.

Louise of Prussia will beg for mercy at the

Digitized by Google

feet of Napoleon only to be spurned by the conqueror. But the day will come when the nephew of that same Napoleon will be a prisoner in the hands of the grandson of that same Louise, and his kingdom prostrate at the mercy of Prussia. Bismarck will endeavor to crush the life of France by loading her with indemnities the world had never heard of before. But the day will come when the successor of Bismarck will cry out to France and her allies, from whom Germany boasted she would extract unthinkable billions, to reduce the indemnities which the allied governments have laid upon her. In the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles, triumphant militarism, intoxicated with glory and power, will erect on the foundations of blood and iron the German empire. But the day will come when in that very same Hall of Mirrors at Versailles that same Hohenzollern imperialism shall be hurled from power and the empire flung to the depths of ruin. "He hath showed strength with his arm; he hath scattered the proud in the imagination of their hearts. He hath put down the mighty from their seats, and exalted them of low degree."

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER III

IS A LEAGUE OF NATIONS POSSIBLE? —CONTINUED

PHILOSOPHERS like Hegel in Germany and Cousin in France may gravely conclude that war is the inevitable result of the clash of ideas which particular nations may represent in the course of their historical development. Such conclusions, however, fade into vacuity when the facts of history show that neither different ideas nor difference of national character are *necessary causes* of war. By this it is not to be understood that ideas representing conflicting civilizations have not played important part in the history of war. The epochal battles of Platia, of Salamis, of Marathon, the struggle between Darius and Alexander at Arbela, representing the conflict between Eastern and Western civilizations, and, without further illustration, the war of the world just ended, which was certainly a death struggle between Autocracy and Democracy,

Digitized by Google

may all be considered as wars of ideas. But however much such battles may have marked the end or the beginning of an epoch, it cannot be shown that different ideas, different civilizations are, as these philosophers teach, "*inevitable causes* of war." Questions of land and food may with much greater reason be regarded as "inevitable causes." For the simple fact is, as modern history shows, that antagonistic nations have had similar ideals, and nations dissimilar both in character and ideals have fought side by side against peoples dominated by some obsession of their exceptional place in history, or superiority of culture.

It is not always easy to determine what a true cause is. What may appear to be a cause of war may really turn out to be simply the *occasion,* and we shall have to go further back or substitute some other act or series of acts, if we would discover the truth. "Roughly speaking," says Professor Cramb (Germany and England, page 113), "I should define any cause to which an historical event is ascribed as a *true* cause when it can be submitted to the categories of universality and necessity."

Of course, it hardly can be expected that historians would admit theology or religion except as political forces into their considera-

Digitized by Google

tion of the causes of war, but human depravity is *universal* and wherever moral depravity operates unrestrained by moral ideals there of *necessity,* owing to the nature of evil itself, war will be; and it cannot be eradicated except by a force greater than the cause. Viscount John Morley goes to the heart of the matter when, discussing religious conflicts in France under Louis XV, he says, "No permanent transformation of a society, we may be sure, can ever take place until a transformation has been accomplished in the spiritual basis of thought."

The roots of war are grounded in what Kant designated as the radical evil in human nature. Saint James had a long time before shown the same source, "From whence come wars and fightings among you? come they not hence, even of your lusts that war in your members?" Will it be contended, in the face of human freedom, that this radical evil is irresistible and cannot be repressed? The moral development of humanity furnishes the completest refutation of this assumption that can be made.

The argument that so long as there are nations who strive for an "enlarged sphere of activity" war will arise is certainly valid, but

Digitized by Google

it is only another way of saying that so long as territorial extension is demanded, or greed is exercised in controlling commerce between nations, war is inevitable.

But in the court of reason and justice what right has one state to demand "enlarged sphere of activity" at the expense of another state? What the American Declaration of Independence asserted, that all men have the inalienable right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," is just as applicable to states. Every nation has the right to exist and to develop to the utmost its racial spirit, its powers and resources, but never at the expense of other nations who also have the right to exist. To deny this is to dethrone morality, even to reverse the moral order of the universe. It makes crime a virtue, wrong right, and right wrong. Such a philosophy can only spread moral disorder throughout the world and must therefore be a false philosophy. It is instinctively abhorred by the normal mass of civilized humanity. God himself, the moral Governor of the universe, warns men against such an unnatural inversion. "Woe unto them that call evil good, and good evil; that put darkness for light, and light for darkness; that put bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter!"

Digitized by Google

The Central Powers to-day know the full meaning of that warning, for it is just such teaching, that might makes right, that has brought them where they are.

But if a nation has the right to exist, it has the right to exist somewhere, that is, in its own defined and recognized territory. To this domain it has exclusive right of possession. No other nation has the right to invade that territory. The desire for "enlarged sphere of activity" is no ground for the invasion of it any more than a desire for any other property is a justifiable ground for theft.

Of course, in defense of the doctrine that a strong state has the right to invade and absorb a weak state, the teachers of such a philosophy will affirm that state morality is different from individual morality. Whatever may be the moral relation of the state to its people, which is internal justice, there is a vast gulf, we are told, between that and its ethical relations to other states. "The acts of the state cannot be judged by the standard of individual morality." Here again is justification for every brutality and villainy and Bismarckian bullying, for every deceit and secret trickery, such as Germany's attempted intrigue with Mexico against the United States while professing

Digitized by Google

friendship for us, which so scandalized honorable nations, that President Wilson declared before Congress that so mendacious, so lacking in moral character was the German government that no self-respecting nation could deal with it.

There may be left yet some statesmen and lawyers who will insist that "the morality of the state must be developed out of its own peculiar essence," just as individual morality is rooted in the personality of the man and his duties toward society; that the morality of the state must be judged by the nature and *"raison d'etre* of the state, and not of the individual." Treitschke declares, "He who is not man enough to look this truth in the face should not meddle in politics." In the first place, it is not a "truth." While the theory may be and has been in history universally accepted, every moral nation should denounce it, since it is intrinsically false, anti-Christ in essence, and never can be other than, like all political falsehoods, a promoter of social wrong and international distrust so long as it is recognized and acted upon in state laws and international dealings. Every robber trust company and soulless corporation assumes that its morality must be different from personal morality, and

Digitized by Google

therefore it will do as a corporation what no individual member of the body would dare to do as an individual. Every literary or theatrical genius who by profligacy of life defies the sense of decency in the community is apologized for as a law to himself, and not to be judged by the ordinary codes of decent conduct. But there are not, and there cannot be, two kinds of morality. The universe is one. There cannot be one morality for the rich and another for the poor, one morality for king and another for peasant. Right is right, and wrong is wrong; and if emperors, diplomats, and murderers of the human race who start wars could be put on trial for their lives at the bar of justice, just as other criminals are for their murders, there would be fewer wars. But such criminals shelter themselves on the ground of the moral irresponsibility of the state. This denial of moral responsibility extends to the right of the state to violate its agreements with other states. "Not all the treaties in the world," it is affirmed, "can alter the fact that the weak is always the prey of the stronger whenever the latter desires and is able to assert this principle. As soon as we consider states as intelligent entities lawsuits between them are seen to be capable of solution

Digitized by Google

only by material force"—another misstatement, as already shown, which humanity will some day get rid of. For, at bottom, what is the state but an aggregate of moral beings organized for social and moral purposes? When, then, did the individual unit of this organization lose his moral nature and obligations? If the purpose or mission of the state is the moral education of its members, how can the state remain nonmoral?

It is self-evident that if there is no universal morality imbedded in the nature of humanity; if this morality is not of universal obligation; and if, because of the state's relation to its own particular duties and self-interests, it is not practically possible to conform to this standard, then, despite all gospel preaching, the declarations of peace societies, and agreements of conventions, it is impossible for wars ever to cease. Justice will never reign upon the earth, since the foundations of justice are destroyed, and the dream of the ages,

> . . . "when all men's good
> Be each man's rule, and universal Peace
> Lie like a shaft of light across the land,"

can never in the nature of things become a reality. Humanity is doomed. Ever-

Digitized by Google

recurring conflict for supremacy, or self-preservation, is as certain as the motion of the stars, since the final arbiter in every dispute must be force.

But it will be observed that in order to justify the right of the state to extend its boundaries over other states by brute force the biological law of the survival of the fittest, which seems to be a universal law of life, is brought over by those philosophers from the jungle and applied to the state as a law of nature to which the state must conform in the struggle for existence. "Struggle is a universal law of nature, and the instinct of self-preservation which leads to struggle is acknowledged to be a natural condition of existence." "This duty of self-assertion is by no means satisfied by the mere repulse of hostile attacks; it includes the obligation to assure the possibility of life and development to the whole body of the nation embraced by the state." This, of course, means expansion, and underlies the German demand made during the war for the annexation of Belgium and northern France and the absorption of Russian provinces.

Darwin's theory of evolution, based on Malthus's theory of population, came at an

Digitized by Google

opportune time for that class of people who needed some support for their assumption of superiority over others. The Tories in England seized it for political purposes. Every law for the betterment of the working classes, the poor and unfortunate, found scientific reasons against its adoption in this newly discovered law of the survival of the fit. In Germany it was readily adopted by the military classes. Through the influence of Haeckel, and other materialistic scientists, it became popular in university teaching and aided immensely in the growth of national egotism, since, if it could be shown that in the evolution of races the Germans were a superior people—as their philosophers and historians had made them believe—they were destined by a law of nature, by fair means or foul, to overcome all other races and thus accomplish their mission. The adaptation of this law to the nature and function of the state fitted easily into the philosophy of Pan-Germanists and gave scientific validity to all their plans.

Whether there is or is not in reality, and without any metaphor, such a struggle for existence in nature as Darwin postulated need not be considered here. That a nation may adopt this brute law, casting aside all re-

Digitized by Google

straints of reason and morality as an individual may, and prosper in things physical, need not be disputed. We may go further and admit that riches, industrial prosperity, territorial expansion, glory and power may follow the state in its conformity to this physical law because the state fulfills that law, but it will be at the price of its soul. Even then its supremacy will be only ephemeral. Having sunk itself in the physical it loses the spiritual. But the spiritual alone stays. The physical, subject to the laws of death, in the long run vanishes in the struggle for existence.

Like the leaves on the trees the generations of men come and go, and the grass grows green where once their civilization flourished. The Arab pitches his tent on the site of Babylon and the cypress grows among the ruins of Rome. But we still have the Iliad and the Æneid, the tragedies of Euripides and Æschylus, the orations of Demosthenes and the disputations of Cicero, the philosophy of Plato and the history of Thucydides—and it is quite likely that the Celestial Rose of Paradise in Dante's Divina Commedia will continue to ravish the soul of the Saint gazing on Eternal Beauty, though the windows of Notre Dame, which it is said suggested the vision,

Digitized by Google

be shattered to dust by the apostles of the material. The spiritual stays.

Moral laws have their innings. They work automatically. The state, composed of moral beings, is a moral entity. It cannot therefore violate the laws of its life by becoming purely physical or nonmoral, as some assert it may, without the loss of those spiritual qualities which first gave it ideals, without debasing its literature and art by drying up their sources, without lowering the character of its people, and without plunging deeper into the qualities of the brute in order to defend itself against enemies which in the process of its physical expansion it has aroused against its insatiable ambition. Thus, by exciting the enmity of all nations, it will be driven by the momentum of its history and the biological law of self-preservation to force mankind into wars and miseries, only to fall a victim at last to the physical powers it has insanely evoked. History shows that evolution is working, and has always worked, not primarily for the supremacy of the strong, nor even for the intellectual, but steadily through the ages for the triumph of the good. "The meek shall inherit the earth." Not antagonism, but cooperation is the law of human progress. This is the law

Digitized by Google

of Christ, and this law is the soundest political philosophy. Along this road—if our statesmen, our labor leaders, our lords of capital, the people, would only take it—is the way to industrial peace, social progress, international friendship, universal brotherhood.

But even admitting that it is laudable for a state to become great, is it necessary for the welfare and happiness of its people that it should rob other people as Austria was robbed of Silesia, Denmark of Schleswig-Holstein, Italy of Trentino, France of Alsace-Lorraine? If this is necessary, then Japan, over-populated and lacking in material resources, should be given a free hand in China, which has a superabundance of what Japan needs for the industrial life of her people.

What is greatness? Treitschke's conception of a great state—and all Prussian historians who wrote history for the glorification of the house of Hohenzollern and the unification of the German states under Prussian rule adopt a similar view—is a state so mighty in its own power that it shall be under no obligation to respect the rights of smaller states, nor those of great states any longer than prudence will permit. Even in the world of the spirit it is only a great state, he affirms, that can

Digitized by Google

achieve the highest culture, since it is only the vision of a mighty empire extending its sway over other peoples, suppressing their national aspirations and impressing upon them its superior civilization, that can fire creative genius in poetry and art, philosophy and politics, and quicken invention in realms of science. Hence the culture of the small state, however charming may be the refinement of its people, the liberality of its institutions, the loftiness of its moral character, and how deeply content the nation may be to live its own life unruffled by passions for conquest and glory which sweep over great states, still it is only when the small state is absorbed in the larger state that its culture, linked up to material grandeur and power, can reach its highest development. Force alone is the bulwark of civilization.

Serious statements on such a subject by an eminent historian compel careful attention. They are not easily brushed aside. It cannot, indeed, be denied, with the facts of history before us, that small states, circumscribed in territory, are easy prey to powerful armies which may be able to penetrate quickly to the heart of the nation, and spread the horrors of war over the whole people. Nor can it be

Digitized by Google

denied that small states are quarrelsome states, engaged in rivalries among themselves, breeding petty jealousies and hatreds, and because of their rancorous disputes and everlasting controversies giving occasion for war between greater nations, as is illustrated in the history of the Balkan States from time immemorial.

But while this is admitted, the history of mankind furnishes abundant proof that small states have contributed more to the progress of civilization than have great states. No one needs to be told what humanity owes to the small republics of Greece; to Rome, before the frenzy of imperialism destroyed the simplicity of former days; to the religion and literature of the Hebrews, to Florence, Venice, Bologna, and other centers of culture. Nor let it be forgotten that in the Reformation period, in the struggle for democracy and religious freedom, the three states that defended both against imperialism were the small states of Holland, Switzerland, and Scotland. Compared to the influence of these small states upon civilization the great monarchies of Louis XIV, of Frederick the Great, and of Germany under William II, sink into insignificance.

Then, again, when Bernhardi, for example,

Digitized by Google

declares that "desire for peace renders civilized nations anæmic and marks a decline of spirit and political courage," or, that "war in opposition to peace does more to arouse national life and to expand national power than any means known to history," the logic of his argument leads to an absurdity, for the same argument—if it has any validity—would invite us for this purpose to revive the gladiatorial combats of ancient Rome. "The Roman," says the historian Lecky, "who looked with delight upon these terrible combats of the amphitheater, sought by this means to make men brave and fearless rather than gentle and humane, and in his eyes that spectacle was to be applauded which steeled the heart against the fear of death." Therefore, as the Romans did, as the Emperor Trajan did, who during one hundred and twenty-three days put ten thousand prisoners of war to fight as gladiators into the arena, the German prisoners of war in the prison camps of England and France, and those captured by the Americans, should have been forced into gladiatorial combats in order to keep England and France from becoming "anæmic" and "spiritless," and to make those nations also brave and fearless. But Germany herself

Digitized by Google

would now repudiate the philosophy of Bernhardi. She has learned since this war began that it is not necessary for the people, or the soldiers of England, or of France, or of Belgium, or of the United States, to witness gladiatorial combats in order to make them "brave and fearless."

And no less vacuous is the statement of Treitschke that "it has always been the weary, spiritless, and exhausted nations which have played with the dream of perpetual peace." Relentless facts compel the reply that Germany has recently found out differently. She has discovered to her cost—at the cost of nearly five million men—that Treitschke was mistaken. She thought France was decadent, England spiritless, and that the people of the United States were devoid of idealism and were merely luxury-loving worshipers of the golden calf. But the men commanded by Joffre and Foch and Haig and Pershing have supplied this defect in Germany's education.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER IV

POLITICAL DIFFICULTIES

In the judgment of men who fully comprehend the difficulties in the pathway of peace, it would seem that there is no insuperable difficulty blocking the road to concord among the nations that may not be blasted out if the people, the democracies of the world, will have it so. The Will to Peace may be just as strong and irresistible as the Will to Power, if that Will is set in motion.

Take this last difficulty mentioned, the struggle for existence. This to many minds is the greatest difficulty of all. But is it a real and insuperable difficulty? The whole argument rests upon the theory that in nature there is an unceasing "struggle for existence," that in all realms of being, among all living things, plant or animal, there operates an omnipresent, irresistible law which is ever weeding out the weaker; so that only those forms of life which harmonize with their environment, succeed in obtaining food, and

Digitized by Google

destroying their enemies, can survive. This instinct of self-preservation compels by inner necessity the struggle for the survival of the strong, and this law applies to nations as it does to the individual or the brute.

This dictum of science, to which reference has already been made but may be referred to again, which seems to account for the rise and fall of empires as easily as for the death of beasts in the jungle, has obtained general acceptance. We need not deny it. So far as it pertains to the brute creation, it may be true. But without claiming to possess sufficient knowledge of all the data upon which scientists establish their theory, one may challenge the processes of reasoning by which this law is applied to man. Has the benevolent God so created man? We may grant that this is a physical law applicable wholly to physical creatures, a law of which they are unconscious, but which nevertheless compels them by the very necessity of their being to obey. They have no choice. They are impelled by instinct and cannot change their nature or the conditions of their existence. But man is not wholly a physical being, and here is an incalculable difference. He is also spiritual, mental, and despite all that ma-

Digitized by Google

terialism may affirm concerning the origin of man, he knows that he possesses free will. He knows that he is not immovable, chained to iron necessity. Between him and brute creation there is a great gulf. He is not impelled by instinct to obey. He reasons. He thinks and plans, looks before and after. He reasons, and his reason puts him outside the grip of necessity. Nor is he a compulsory victim of environment. He may change his environment. In him there is no brute law which cannot be controlled by a higher law, a spiritual power within him, so that he is not compelled by any irresistible law of nature to any one exclusive line of action or unchangeable condition of living. He creates surroundings and masters conditions. By his ever-increasing knowledge he compels the laws and the forces of nature, like the genii of Aladdin's lamp in Arabian story, to obey his will. The law of the jungle is not applicable to man. In him is the sense of right and wrong, however perverted or undeveloped. In him, imbedded in his nature, are also the mighty instincts of love and sympathy which demand sacrifice and not struggle, generosity and not greed; and all these powers of his spiritual nature enable him, if he will submit to the higher

Digitized by Google

laws of his being rather than to the brutish instincts which war against the spiritual, to join with his fellows in leagues of peace, and, resisting the momentum of past history, make peace, and not war, the habit of the human race.

Having thus briefly considered those objections which have been oftenest made against the possibility of enduring peace, there remains the political objection, which is the most practical objection. There is no question of greater import to the world, present and future, than this. If the nations fall back into pre-war distrust of each other; if Germany, stung with defeat and humiliation, sinks into sullen hatred and nurses revenge; if Bulgaria, Hungary, Italy, Russia, and what is left of Austria shall cherish the feeling that they have been cheated by the great powers, such an attitude will seriously affect the mind of the world, shape policies of governments, and compel all governments to continue military programs for possible contingencies.

The Peace Congress, composed of representatives of the nations which were at war with Germany, met in Paris, January 18, 1919, to formulate a treaty of peace. Among other commissions the Congress appointed a Com-

Digitized by Google

mission to draw up a plan or constitution for a League of Nations, the purpose of which should be to establish a tribunal for the adjustment of international disputes and the prevention of war. On February 4, 1919, this Commission held its first session, and finished its task February 13. The next day the draft of the covenant was presented by President Wilson to the plenary session of the Peace Congress. In presenting the document President Wilson said:

A living thing is born, and we must see to it what clothes we put on it. It is not a vehicle of power, but a vehicle in which power may be varied at the discretion of those who exercise it and in accordance with the changing circumstances of the time. And yet while it is elastic, while it is general in its terms, it is definite in the one thing that we were called upon to make definite. It is a definite guarantee of peace. It is a definite guarantee by word against aggression. It is a definite guarantee against the things which have just come near bringing the whole structure of civilization into ruin.

President Wilson was followed by Lord Robert Cecil, head of the British delegation on the Commission. He said:

The results accomplished embraced two main principles—first no nation shall go to war until every other means of settlement shall be fully and fairly tried; second, no nation shall forcibly seek to disturb a terri-

Digitized by Google

tory's integrity or interfere with the political independence of the nations of the world.

Leon Bourgeois, representing France, Premier Clémenceau, Baron Makino of Japan, Premier Hughes of Australia, Premier Venizelos of Greece, and several others spoke approving words, but with certain reservations in mind.

Thus was launched upon the uncertain sea of public opinion another of the most important political documents in the world. The longing for peace, which during the war was often declared by the chancelleries of the belligerent nations, as well as by the people, found official expression in that covenant. On the face of it, and, indeed, in the heart of it, it seemed to be what it purported to be in its Preamble. Lord Cecil plainly stated its fundamental purpose—the settlement of international controversies and the prevention of war.

It seems, however, that, notwithstanding happiness is a universal desire and that men everywhere would support every effort to obtain it, it is nevertheless among the deep mysteries of life that never yet was good proposed that some evil spirit was not present at its birth; either to destroy it in its infancy, to mar its development, or to defeat its ultimate

Digitized by Google

purpose. This, at any rate, appears to have been the case with the proposed covenant of the League of Nations.

It could hardly be expected, in the first place, that a document, written in the comparatively short time given to its consideration (nine days), involving as it does so many intricate and delicate questions of government, would be received with unqualified approval even though composed by statesmen of experience. The Commission itself which prepared the draft of it had not been in session four days before acute dissension arose among them. In England influential newspapers expressed misgivings, and in the House of Commons Premier Lloyd George found his worthy appeal "to take it seriously" by no means enthusiastically received. Though responsible journals in France have since changed their tone, on the day of its publication in Paris the covenant was immediately attacked, and so severe were the criticisms it was suggested that the Peace Congress be moved elsewhere. The fact is, so little confidence in the League was felt by all parties that Premier Clémenceau would not accept its guarantees unless it was stipulated that England and the United States should come to the aid of France if she

Digitized by Google

were attacked by Germany. In Italy and in Rumania, now the most powerful of the Balkan States, neither the Treaty of Peace nor the covenant of the League found whole-hearted support from either the governments or the people of those countries. Italy was promised territory she long desired in Asia Minor and on the Adriatic if she entered the war on the side of the Allies. Italy entered the war, but when the war was over President Wilson insisted that the important city of Fiume, promised to Italy by the Treaty of London, should go to the new state of Czecho-Slovakia. Rumania had a similar promise of territory, but this too was revoked when the war was over, on the insistence of President Wilson; and the League of Nations' covenant forever guarantees the boundaries thus fixed as the new map of Europe. France, the friend of Italy, finds herself obligated by this covenant to fight Italy should she attempt to annex Fiume. Rumania seized Budapest notwithstanding the protests of the peace powers, and was supported by public opinion in France and Italy. In Germany it could not be expected that the covenant would be approved, since it would compel her to confirm the loss of her colonies and the carving of her

Digitized by Google

empire in Europe for the making of the new states of Poland and Czecho-Slovakia, as fixed in the Treaty of Peace.

In the United States the political atmosphere was charged with debate. The unfortunate antagonism, which had grown to open hostility between the President and the Senate, awakened critical interest in the requirements of the covenant. The President, it was stated, had ignored the counsel of the Senate and the suggestions of eminent American statesmen. When, therefore, the official text of the plan was laid before that body for ratification without amendment or reservation, it was at once attacked, and one of the bitterest controversies ever known in the Senate raged around its obligations and their implications which the United States government would be compelled to assume, should the covenant be adopted without reservations. The Senate of the United States, which has equal power with the President in the making of treaties, had signed treaties before with certain definite reservations such as the Algeciras Treaty and the "Hague Convention of 1907," and no ulterior motives were attributed to the Senate on making them. Since this Covenant of Nations involved a departure

Digitized by Google

from the traditional policy of noninterference in the political questions of foreign states, the Senate, while in favor of a League, therefore would not give unqualified indorsement to a covenant which necessarily demanded a reversion of that policy. It was argued that adoption of the covenant was in fact and principle a surrender of the sovereignty of the United States to the authority of the Executive Council of the League, a kind of supergovernment which would function over all governments signatory to the covenant. And not only so, but notwithstanding the fact that by the terms of the covenant the Council could only *advise* what a nation should do in a particular crisis, nevertheless, if the Council should "advise" war against a recalcitrant state, the United States would be compelled by its moral obligations in the League, and not by the American Congress acting under the Constitution, to cross the Atlantic and fight on foreign soil.

On the other side, the supporters of the administration showed that every state signing any treaty does by that act limit its sovereignty, but does not thereby surrender it; that what other governments had done without diminishing their authority or loss of dignity in adopting the League of Nations for

Digitized by Google

the sake of peace, which would be practically guaranteed by such a coalition, the United States should also do for the sake of humanity, and thus by a mighty alliance of all the great powers bring in a new era for the world. Thus the battle raged. Finally, after a long and stormy debate of four months, on November 20, 1919, ten reservations were adopted by a committee of the Senate despite all that the President and the administration forces could do to prevent such action. Such at present (February 18) is the fate of that document upon which rested as upon former peace plans the hope of perpetual peace.

An impartial mind perhaps will be slow to assign the blame. Perhaps the Constitution itself is to blame, since it makes no provision for dissolution of a deadlock between the President and the Senate. Many causes contributed to the debacle. The failure to ratify probably will be attributed in the final analysis to some particular individual, to the conditions of membership in the League, to the opposition of influential senators to any League, or finally to the reluctance of the American people to risk the experiment. There is such a thing as doing a right thing in a wrong way.

Digitized by Google

The indisputable facts are that the platforms of both national parties, Republican and Democratic, declared for a League of Nations, and the public declarations of senators of both parties expressed the same desire. Therefore, to charge as one of the reasons for the failure of the plan that a majority of the United States Senate were opposed to a League of Nations in any form, may be an exhibition of partisan bias, but it certainly is not an exhibition of a judicial temperament. Those who voted for reservation which, it is alleged, defeated the plan, held that it was only a proposal and not a completed contract, which its champions declared it to be, but which the Senate affirmed it could not be until it had passed the Senate. The Senate, therefore, could not but consider it as open to amendment actual or implied, or else reject it altogether. To reject it was, its friends asserted, to reject the Treaty of Peace which was deftly woven into it. To accept it just as it was presented, automatically launched the United States upon a sea it had never sailed, delivered the American government into the control of another government which would have the authority to direct its acts and to determine its obligations. The friends of the

Digitized by Google

plan blame the majority in the Senate for magnifying minor defects which could be remedied later; for distorting the advisory powers of the League into peremptory demands; for subordinating the welfare of humanity to impossible interpretations of national obligation, and for insistence upon theoretical relinquishment of sovereignty, which is equally shared with all other signatories to the League.

But it makes very little difference now, taking what might be called a planetary view of the situation, where the blame lies. The lack of unanimity and spontaneity in the highest representative body of the American people, the long and acrimonious debates, the critical exposure of its defects by eminent statesmen in the country at large, will certainly detract from the impression which a whole-hearted acceptance of the fact would have made upon the mind of Europe. An emphatic approval of the League would have served notice to all the peoples of Europe of the League's inflexible determination to enforce law and prevent war. But with what confidence may we now look into the future? Will the League of Nations, with or without the United States, be able to maintain the peace of the world?

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER V

NEED FOR CHRISTIAN LEAGUE

THE whole world sees that though the United States should join the League with the *proviso* that Congress shall retain its constitutional authority to declare war or not, even though "advised" to do so by the League Council, it will still be doubtful in the world's thinking, because of the uncertainty of public opinion and the complexion of Congress, whether American armies will ever again fight in Europe. England and France will be regarded in European opinion as having become, and in fact will have become, the main strength of the League if such a League ever becomes a reality. In such case the League will simply have become an alliance between those nations. It is not likely, until there is some favorable readjustment, that Germany or Bulgaria or Austria, or Rumania will join the League. They see at once that whatever question of boundary may arise between Germany and Poland, Serbia and Bulgaria,

Digitized by Google

Hungary and Rumania—and such will surely arise—their case is prejudged, since these boundaries are already fixed in the Treaty of Peace, and the League of Nations is under solemn obligation to defend these fixed boundaries against "external aggression." Article X reads:

> The members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression, the Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.

It is much more likely that the defeated nations may come to an understanding, or form some coalition among themselves, if some regenerating influence does not destroy in them the spirit of revenge and direct the energies of the people in the paths of peace.

But what influence or power can do this? The League of Nations alone cannot do it, since it is the purpose of the League to maintain the status fixed by the Treaty of Peace. Any change in boundaries, or relations of the Poles, the Czecho-Slovaks, or the Serbians not in harmony with the "self determination" of these states will be at once an abandonment

Digitized by Google

of the Peace Treaty and the signal for revolt to right the wrong that has been done them. It is not, therefore, to be imagined that the League of Nations, the symbol of force, as it is, and ought to be, will be able morally to regenerate the people whom it keeps in bonds by display of arms.

Time and betterment of industrial conditions may go far to obliterate the memories of the present, especially when Germany and her allies reflect upon the misery they brought upon the world and the frightful punishment they had laid up for the Allies compared to the lenient justice the Allies have meted out to them. But, as an index to the mental reservations of those nations at present and their declared purpose in the future, despite their acceptance of the Treaty of Peace and signing of the confirmatory League Covenant, the Associated Press states that Bulgaria meditates revenge.

The Minister of War Madjaroff, formerly Bulgarian minister to London, declared that Bulgaria might for the moment be humiliated and crushed, but she would rise up again with renewed strength—it might be five years from now, it might be ten, it might be twenty, but rise she would. Her "just military and terri-

Digitized by Google

torial desires might be repressed by the force of superior numbers, but her spirit, which was eternal, could not be suppressed by any power on earth." The Bulgarians, he continued, "were a patient, forbearing people, with whom patriotism and national honor were a passion. There could be no peace in the Balkans under such an 'unjust territorial arrangement' as the Peace Conference had laid down. Bulgaria would have to prepare to resist the invasion of its soil by her hostile neighbors, which sooner or later was inevitable. She could not attain her normal economic, political or social growth under the 'harsh provisions' of the treaty. She might be compelled out of self-preservation, if the terms were not modified, to resort to drastic expedients."

Premier Nitti, of Italy, expressed the discontent of his people when in November, 1919, he said:

The war has ceased for a year. Ever since the Italians have seen their national aspirations opposed with a hardness and inflexibility which wounds them profoundly. Was it worth while to oppose us so cruelly regarding Fiume? An irregular situation has arisen both in Fiume and Dalmatia. The discontent which has blazed up in our army and navy is the result of many errors of our own, but above all—I say it solemnly and deliberately—they are in a great measure due to the conduct of our allies.

Digitized by Google

Thus Italy has been sacrificed to the new state of Czecho-Slovakia, and seed of future trouble sown on the Adriatic as well as on the Ægean Sea.

When one considers the attitude of political Germany and the avowed determination of her leaders not to respect the Treaty they signed any longer than they are compelled to, it is not difficult to forecast the future. How any nation with the record Germany has of treaties of practical servitude imposed upon Finland, upon Russia at Brest-Litovsk, upon Ukrania, upon Rumania, and the conditions of peace which she intended to impose upon England, France, Belgium, and Italy, had victory crowned her armies—how any nation that had not lost its soul could have the hardihood to complain of the terms which the Allies compelled her to sign, is beyond the comprehension of any mind not afflicted with that kind of mentality peculiar to the political leaders of Germany.

But it is just in this abnormal mind the danger of all Europe lies. The leaders complain that the peace terms "will ruin Germany" without one thought or sigh of repentence for the ruin and death which Germany brought to Belgium, to France, and their

Digitized by Google

allies. They complain that it will be impossible for Germany to pay the indemnities laid upon them, forgetting that Herr Helfferich, secretary of the treasury, in his report to the Kaiser in 1913, one year before the war, estimated Germany's capital wealth amounted to more than 410,000,000,000 marks; and that her annual revenue was 50,000,000,000. No invading hosts ravaged her lands nor destroyed her industries, her towns and cities; and if in the working of retributive justice, her compulsory pledges to deliver coal to Belgium and France for a number of years will retard her return to prewar conditions, even then she will be better off in many respects than the states she had determined to ruin.

Nevertheless, Germany will not submit to the present situation as a permanent settlement. Prussianism still remains. The same military and Junker classes that brought on the war still influence the councils of government. The attempts to evade the terms of the Treaty bode no good. They indicate rather moral bankruptcy. The same tactics which Scharnhorst employed to nullify the edict of Napoleon I as to the number of troops that Prussia should retain, Germany now pursues. Professing to accept the decree of the Allies

Digitized by Google

that her armed force shall not exceed one hundred thousand men, the German government has recently passed a military law which while not actually contravening the terms of the Treaty will in a few years provide her with a formidable army.

The German people are a noble, home-loving, and liberty-loving people, if untainted by Prussian ambition and not led astray by evil council. Such a people when deceived through long years by all arts of government, education and the press, and by false teachers in government pay, are easily led to believe in a false mission and unconsciously assume a false character. They become just what they have shown themselves to be in this war of frightfulness; and then, such is the astounding psychology of their changed nature, that they will inquire with wonder why the whole world condemns them! They cannot understand that the world has not with them wholly changed its moral character.

Germany must be born again. It will be, but not without struggle. If the present generation and the next shall discard all that autocracy has stood for, discard the insane philosophies and falsehoods which have corrupted the soul of the people, Germany will fill a

Digitized by Google

larger and a more permanent place in history than the realization of her pan-Germanic dreams could possibly have brought to her.

But should she persist in the course she has pursued, it is not improbable that in less than fifty years war will again resound in Europe. If that war does come, and it will come if not prevented *now*, it will be a swifter and a more terrible war than this war. It will not be a war of armies on foot, not a war of trenches or of artillery, except long-range guns; it will be chiefly a chemical war. The science of chemistry will have been so greatly advanced by new discoveries in explosives, skill in building air-planes, and the art of flying so highly developed, ostensibly for the purpose of commerce but in war time directed by wireless and concentrated by hundreds over cities, that in an hour by the use of explosive bombs, incendiary bombs, asphyxiating-gas bombs, whole cities with their populations will be utterly destroyed. Europe will have found her grave in a shell-hole.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER VI

STATES NEED THE CHURCH

WHAT can be done to prevent such a calamity? Considering that the world has only just emerged from one of the greatest cataclysms in history and is tired of war, this question may be ignored, or considered as void of immediate interest. The shattered condition of the defeated empires is so hopeless, it is said, that any idea of their resurgence to former power, except in some far distant future, is beyond the rim of practical reason.

This possible return, however, may not be so remote that the League of Nations may now safely surrender its charter or suspend its scrutiny of enemies' plans and purposes. Short-sightedness in a statesman guiding national affairs is just as bad as color-blindness in an engineer driving a locomotive. Signals are set up in order to be seen. Everybody now sees that it was just this fatuous blindness to

Digitized by Google

the signs of the times that came so near delivering the world's future into the hands of Germany. Premier Lloyd George in an Address to the House of Commons, April 16, 1919, struck this same highly optimistic note when he said:

> I know there is a good deal of talk about recrudescence of the military power of Germany. You get paragraphs about what Germany is doing, that she is going to get on her feet again, and about her great armies. That is not the case. With difficulty—that is our military information—she can gather together eighty thousand men to preserve order.

There is no doubt that Lloyd George, whom it may not be extravagance to name the saviour of England, stated exactly the facts as they were at that time; but already Germany —such is the irony of politics—has passed a military law which if not denounced by the League of Nations as a violation of the Treaty of Peace, will provide in a few years an army of two million. And it may be noted further that if the peace of Europe is so certainly assured for the future, why such compelling necessity for a League of Nations at all, or, at least, why such immediate haste in its organization?

With keener insight, or perhaps with less

Digitized by Google

regard for official reticence, the Hon. Winston Churchill diagnoses the situation. He says:

> Do not let us forget that the great, mighty masses of the German and Russian nations will not always remain plunged in their present weakness and miseries. At no great distance from the present time they will again be powerful factors in the world, and no course which it is in our power to take can prevent them from being so, even were that our wish.
>
> Our greatest danger is that they will arise as the foes of Britain, the United States, and France, and, joining hands across the patchwork area of the small but unquiet "Balkanized" states, will once again confront the Western powers with a menace as terrible as that which we faced on August 4, 1914. This danger may be averted by wise policy, but it is imperative that it should be realized from the outset.
>
> Unless we are able to set up a structure superior to those we have destroyed, and not less practical and efficient in action, we cannot possibly expect the results of this war to remain permanent. The old empires rose out of very real needs felt by the peoples dwelling in those regions, and in response to tremendous forces working there. Their ghosts still brood over the immense battlefield, and unless a superior structure can be created for Christendom their reincarnation after fierce birth-agonies is certain.

The question, then, What can be done to prevent a recurrence of war? may not be so impracticable as to put it outside serious consideration.

Peace treaties are no guarantees against another conflagration. The universe may be

Digitized by Google

bomb-proof, but Paris is not, and London is not; nor is the Atlantic Coast. A League of Nations is not stronger insurance than treaties of peace. Any power strong enough to violate the one might think itself able to defy the other. It may not get very far in its insane venture, it may be annihilated as a just punishment for its crime, but all this does not *prevent war*. It may be admitted that the League does not propose to prevent all wars, which would be equivalent to abolishing war altogether, but to make it possible for nations to settle their disputes if they desire without resorting to war. But the Hague Tribunal was organized for just such purpose as that, and although it could not enforce its decisions, as the League of Nations will be able to do, yet if the nations would not obey that Supreme Court of the World without compulsion, it is an attenuated hope that threat of war will force them to obey the verdict of the League. The truth is that no threat of war can restrain the passions of a people when excited by patriotism to the pitch of martyrdom.

The next truth is that while the League of Nations may do much to prevent war, it cannot eradicate the desire for war. It would seem, therefore, absolutely essential that the

Digitized by Google

physical power of the League shall be supplemented by a spiritual power, some mighty regenerating influence which by its appeal to the souls of men shall be able to cool superheated passions, and for treasured wrong substitute desire for justice and not revenge, for peace and not war.

Now the only power or agency that can do this is the Universal Church of God, for the reason that there is no other higher moral agency. There is no conceivable other; and if the League will endure, it must be this. The League cannot become an effective institution or restraining force in future history, without the power of religion to support it. After all, the mightiest and the most permanent force in human history is religion. Even Robespierre had to bring God back to the French Revolution, after the Convention had bowed him out. There must be moral sanction, there must be the compelling power of conscience, a spiritual, collective purpose unifying the masses of the nation, generated and sustained by religious inspiration, before a whole nation, with all its complex interests and activities, political, social, and commercial, will give, or can give, the full weight of its concentrated power in support of any political or social

Digitized by Google

movement vitally related to its deepest interests.

But without the support of the people in every nation in Europe, and of the people of the United States, such a League cannot be permanent or effective. And, on the other hand, without the stimulus of religion and the power of it uniting the people around a common purpose, fusing heterogeneous and conflicting beliefs and prejudices of the various nationalities in support of the ideal, the masses of the peoples will have no united support to give.

What, then, is the remedy? *The remedy is a Christian league, a league of Christendom supplementing the political League of Nations.* Such a League of all churches, Greek, Russian, Protestant, Roman, for the sole purpose of instilling in all classes and in all governments the principles of Christian brotherhood and demanding equal justice for all, will do more to prevent the recurrence of war than any coalition of governments, or peace leagues ever organized.

The Church of God in its world mission can do no greater service to humanity than this: to align itself with all its spiritual might and educational forces in all lands and among

Digitized by Google

all peoples, races and tongues, on the side of men who are endeavoring to establish universal and perpetual peace on the earth. If ever there was an expression of the will of God out of the skies concerning the social relations of man, "Peace on earth, good will toward men"—a league of the nations, a league of Christendom—is the embodiment of it. The Church of God cannot do less to prepare the way for the kingdom of God than the governments of the earth.

If the church should determine not to aid governments in their efforts to establish universal peace by definite committal of herself to this task, but falls back into an attitude of indifference, and supinely submits to what happens, thus separating herself in selfish isolation from the world, and interested only in the heavenly world where there are no lonely homes or bloody battlefields, she will, as certain as gravity, lose this world, since she apostatizes from the teachings of her Lord to "disciple all nations." In such case what Israel, and what the church of former epochal times failed to do, the church of the twentieth century will deliberately refuse to do. She deliberately repudiates her historical calling, and so far ceases to be the organ of the Holy

Digitized by Google

Spirit for realizing the purpose of God in bringing in the kingdom of God.

It may be that the church will do this. It may be that shortsighted leaders of churches in Europe and in America may, under divers influences, adopt a narrow view of the nature of the church, its place and purpose in history, and declare that the church should not "mix in politics," that our Lord's kingdom is "not of this world," that "Christ must come before the world gets better," and thus in times of religious interest lead the thought of the church away by Jewish notions from the larger concept of the world's social and political redemption. But "Ye are the salt of the earth," said Jesus. "Ye are the light of the world." Therefore, if such unscriptural teachings concerning the mission of the church in the world as indicated should prevail to any large extent, there is nothing visible so far as human eye can see for the world but constantly recurring clashings of selfish interests, social disturbances, wars, steady decline of morals and slow deterioration of civilization. The world unleavened by the Christian spirit, "the salt of the earth," will go staggering along its hopeless way simply repeating the experience of Rome in its decadence, despite all that the

Digitized by Google

Stoic philosophy could do to arrest its fall; the story of France on the eve of the Revolution; of England's moral degradation in the same period, and of every country where the church, withdrawing herself from the life of the world, contrary to the teachings of her Lord, or herself becoming corrupted, has failed with healing touch to remedy the ills of society or to disinfect in unwholesome centers the sources of pollution.

But the church will also deteriorate. She is in the world and the world reacts upon her, so that she will either conquer the world or be conquered by it. Failing to subdue the spirit of the world, since we "wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places," the church, withdrawing from the world, will have no mission to the world, and therefore no reason for her existence. Thus she will prepare the way historically for her removal. "The end of the times of the Gentiles" will have come, the passing of the church of the Gentiles. But the idea of God implanted from the beginning in human history will not pass. By many providential ways, religious and political, now but faintly

Digitized by Google

seen, other latent means for realizing the purpose of God, other religious forces now existing side by side with the Christian Church, may have their chance and will accomplish the purpose of God which the Gentile Christian Church had failed to do. The Jew is God's reserve.

Now, the state exists in order to execute the will of the people. The church exists in order to execute the will of God. As the people are, so will the state in general be; that is, its character, its morals national and international, will in all realms of political activity reflect more or less the spirit of the people which support it. It is therefore the duty of the church, aside from its special mission in the salvation of the individual, to bring all men into right relationship with God, in order that the state may be a moral state, and that by the proper exercise of its powers in social development it may create an environment in which men can live in harmony with the new life within them, an environment which shall afford free scope for the exercise of Christianity without conflicting forces or conditions, tolerated or legalized by the state, nullifying the moral and spiritualizing influences at work for subjecting the whole life of man to the divine will.

Digitized by Google

With the growth of Christian sentiment and a clear perception of the evil effect of vice upon a people, the state endeavors now to do this in its efforts to eradicate intemperance, ignorance, and social vices. The church also everywhere sees that it is her duty to aid the state in creating such social conditions that social heredity shall operate for the transmission of the good and not for the perpetuation of evil.

But if it is the duty of the church thus to aid the state in its internal administration, how can the conclusion be avoided that it is also the duty of the church to aid the state in its relations with all other peoples? Must the Church of God here part company with the state, and, leaving the destiny of the nation and the fate of other peoples in the hands of a few statesmen influenced by divers considerations, to a chauvinistic press, to the interplay and designs of financial interests, tamely submit to the decrees of these statesmen acting for the state? Is it not, rather, the duty of the church to create in every country a state of mind which will aid the government in preserving amicable relations with all other governments, since we are related to all other governments, and prevent it from plunging

Digitized by Google

the nation into war for any purpose other than resistance of invasion?

This does not mean, of course, that in any country the church in a time of danger should put itself in opposition to the government, and thus, by creating division among the people, weaken the power of the state. Nor does it mean that a flabby pacificism should be taught the people, or that the church should encourage so-called conscientious objectors, whose objection is not to the enjoyment of benefits they derive from their country, native or adopted, its laws and institutions, its cultural and industrial opportunities, which in its hour of need they will not defend, but to the dangers and inconveniences they may have to endure. Such people should be disfranchised, and deprived of every right for which other men suffer and die. They have no moral or political right to the benefits of other men's death. But it does mean that it is the duty of the church to create in every nation a real sense of the brotherhood of humanity, a desire for peace, a hunger for right understanding, for love and mercy that will prevent war and mutual misunderstandings.

The church by direct influence upon government, and vigorous education of childhood and

Digitized by Google

youth, must create a society in which war shall be banished from human thinking and planning, for war is not confined to actual slaughter on the battlefield. War is a disease. It is a state of mind. It is a product of social heredity. Its antecedents and concomitants penetrate and ramify through every thought and activity of society even in times of peace, from the statesman planning increase of territory or of markets, to the munition maker, the manufacturer, the profiteer, the skilled workman and day laborer, dreaming of profits or increase of wages. Thus the world-mind is kept familiarized with the idea of war. It is habituated by language and gesture to think war, and in every nation multiplied thousands are employed preparing for the next conflict at home or abroad.

Such a state of mind can never make for an unruffled sense of peace and of established security. By an inward necessity it must contribute on the contrary to the continuance of that evil the nations most dread—War.

Man can never reach that civilization which Christian thought contemplates until war is abolished and the millions yearly expended for the maintenance of armaments are spent for the good of the people. Such a civilization

Digitized by Google

cannot exist, for the reason that conditions for its growth do not exist. Civilization requires stability. There must be established institutions, concord between nations, freedom of intercourse, of travel and of commerce, for neither manners, nor art nor science, neither education nor development of any peaceful pursuit, can be possible where there is unrest, tumult, and roar of battle, or a feverish expectation of change or disaster.

Nor ~~can the~~ government abolish war by fiat. It may disband armies and sink its dreadnaughts, but that would not banish war. War, as stated, is an attitude of mind, the welling up from the depths of the human spirit of the desire for revenge; and if no weapons are available, the mad impulse to kill will manufacture them. The roots of violence are in the soul of man, and no legislation, or League of Nations, can reach the malady. A stronger impulse than the instinct for murder must expel this desire from the human soul. But there exists no power except the Church of God which, by cooperating with the state and by its own spiritual impact upon society, can achieve that miracle.

Spiritual needs demand spiritual remedies. The state, therefore, is incapable of imparting

Digitized by Google

that spiritual power necessary to that mental regeneration which will resort to the tribunal of Justice, rather than to war, for the redress of wrongs. The state does not possess such power, and has no means by which it could transmit it, if it possessed it. The state can touch the outside but never the inside. The church alone is the divinely ordained instrument for the spiritualizing of the nations, and it alone can reach the cause of the world's trouble. Under God it possesses both power and means for this regeneration, and to do this is the mission of the church in human history. For, as Dr. James Orr, in The Christian View of the World, rightly inquires, "What did Christ come for if not to impart a new life to humanity, which, working from within and outward, is destined to transform all human relations—all family and social life, all industry and commerce, all art and literature, all government and relations among peoples till the kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord and his Christ?"

Consider, then, the church and the idea of the kingdom which war prevents from being realized in national and international affairs.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER VII

THE MISSION OF ISRAEL

WHATEVER world-view philosophical historians may have of human destiny, to the Christian thinker the goal of history is the realization of the kingdom of God. This conviction rests upon belief in a divine purpose in creation, taught in Holy Scripture, and confirmed by the moral progress of humanity. To those who exclude final causes from their conception of the universe, the idea of a superintending God in human affairs has, of course, no standing in a world governed by physical law. Such see no march of law and reason, of social progress and culture under the guidance of Providence. Blending in their monism the spiritual with the physical, they so connect the human with inanimate nature that the laws which govern matter also determine the social and moral conditions of man, and there is set before him no higher destiny than that which may be worked out by the uniform oper-

Digitized by Google

ation of physical law. There is no meaning in history; it is a purposeless ocean-swell of human endeavor, an eternal alternation of development and decay.

Christianity cannot thus look upon the world's life. No event is without significance or relation, near or remote, to the thoughtful Christian. As the prophets of Israel pondered the vision relative to national destiny and the dawn of universal deliverance in the coming of the King and Redeemer, the Christian philosopher will have practical interest in the theories and systems which dominate human thought, in the purposes and methods of civil governments, the acts of parliaments and the movements of armies, the achievements of the explorer and the success of the missionary, the progress of ideas, the nature of reforms, and the play of social and political forces. He will be actuated in this not for the purpose of indulging mathematical caprice and inventing prophecies, but because all that is to be is now, because the new is involved in the old, and all that is has relation to the kingdom of God. As invisible mist evolves into visible clouds, the antichrist of the future and the golden age of prophecy will be historically developed from corresponding elements previ-

Digitized by Google

ously existing, from principles now operating in human society. These by the ordinary working of moral laws will reach their ultimate realization as depicted in prophecy, in the fullness of time. Hence all human activity, even the chronic evils of the race, its poverty, ignorance, sin, and consuming disquietude and wretchedness, have import as potent *momenta* in hastening or retarding the kingdom of God.

This idea, the kingdom of God, or of heaven, in its earthly manifestation, is the will of God reigning in the souls of men, a state of society in which obedience to that will shall be recognized as the normal condition of society, the determining motive in individual, social, state, and civic activities.

Like the promise of the final triumph of good over evil to the fallen pair in the Garden of Eden, this idea of the kingdom, *the purpose* of God, enters human history at the very beginning and never disappears. Like the Gulf Stream flowing within its own bounds in the oceans, never mingling its waters with them nor lost in their depths, it persists through all changes and revolutions of time, through all crises and epochs in the world's history.

In the Scriptures, as if looking at a pageant

Digitized by Google

or a moving picture, we see this idea entering world life in the Morning of Time, imbedding itself in primitive belief, and, in process of time and migrations of races, becoming tradition, or myth in ethnic faiths. Among the Hebrews it is preserved as the promise of a Leader or as a Deliverer, and when in the run of centuries these custodians of revelation come in contact with world-powers and realize the political downfall of their nation, it efflo-resces in prophecy as the Messianic Hope. Finally, its full significance having been manifested in Jesus, its long struggle with evil forces depicted in apocalyptic vision, its glorious triumph over all enemies in its course through history is proclaimed at last in the heavens: "For the kingdoms of this earth are become the kingdom of our Lord and his Christ."

It would be an unwarranted blunder to confuse the Jewish dream of a millennium with the kingdom of God. They are not identical. The affirmation of a millennium as a redemptive agent cannot be accepted, for if there is such a golden age for the Christian Church, it can be considered only as a result and not as a cause. Indeed, it would seem, following sound reason, that if this world cannot be

Digitized by Google

morally subdued except by the personal coming of Christ, Christianity, as a world-saver, is certainly a failure, since the Holy Ghost, operating in and through the church, is unable to overcome the forces of evil—a conclusion which itself would discredit the spiritual nature of Christianity. Christian eschatology will be rather slow in teaching such doctrine, and with eighteen centuries of Christian victories over all forces behind it, it will not abandon hope in the ultimate triumph of the cross in every land, the final sovereignty of the spirit of the gospel over the heart and intellect of the nations.

Christianity has nothing greater to accomplish in the future than it already has achieved in the past. The paganism of the future cannot be worse or stronger than the paganism it conquered. There never will be another Greece, another Roman empire whose imperial eagles shall guard the idolatrous fane. It was Christianity that shook the gods from Olympus; that without arms overcame all arms; that carried the truth into Cæsar's household; that changed Roman law, put an end to the shows of the arena, founded charities, elevated woman, protected children, undermined slavery, established universities,

Digitized by Google

civilized western Europe, transformed its numerous tribes, and produced the liberty, the peace, the normal consciousness and the grandeur of modern civilization, despite inherited tendencies derived from past ages to resist divine light and to dwell in darkness.

Millenarianism is out of harmony with divine methods in human history. Whatever involves a constant miracle in the ethical development of the kingdom of God may be discarded as wanting in the divine element. Such a miracle would be no miracle. The millennium which is to come will be the outgrowth of the labors of the church of to-day and of yesterday, and in this practical view, which harmonizes with the teachings of our Lord himself, is the inspiration to toil in the vineyard.

Now, every idea, whether in the mind of man or of God, that is to be realized, must find embodiment in time and space, that is, in History. The body, or agent, in which the Divine Idea of the kingdom seeks to clothe itself is the church. The church is not the kingdom, but it is selected and designed to be an expression of the kingdom. Its function in history is to bring humanity within the sway of the sovereignty of God. Beginning

Digitized by Google

with the individual, on a national scale, say Abraham, as nature begins with the ion or molecule to build the universe, its field is the world. "The kingdom of heaven is like unto leaven, which a woman took, and hid in three measures of meal, till the whole was leavened."

"According to Darwinism," says John Fiske in his Destiny of Man, page 19, "the creation of man is still the goal toward which nature tended from the beginning. Not the production of any higher creature, but the perfecting of humanity is the glorious consummation of nature's long and tedious work. He who has mastered the Darwinian theory, he who recognizes the slow and subtle process of evolution as the way God makes things come to pass, must . . . see that in the deadly struggle for existence which has raged for countless æons of time, the whole creation has been groaning and travailing together in order to bring forth that last consummate specimen of God's handiwork, the human soul."

In almost similar words one might describe the imponderable forces working in history to bring forth the kingdom of God through the church. For only to the extent that this kingdom is realized in the soul of

Digitized by Google

humanity does man justify the "countless æons of time" necessary to produce him. Nature brings the human soul so far and then turns it over for its final development to supernature. If, then, the kingdom of God as an active idea is not as real in history as are the forces of evolution in the physical world, and if its purpose is not to be actually realized in human history as a vital part of the whole program of creation, then not only the church but nature itself has failed in its ultimate purpose, since, notwithstanding all its efforts through "countless æons of time," it has failed at last to reach its ultimate goal, and instead of all cosmic forces thus working for the highest end, as the apostle Paul says, and science demonstrates, they end in everlasting futility—for without God what is the human soul?

The church, thought of as the embodiment of an idea, is a product of selection. Whatever doubt there may be among scientists as to the fact and importance of natural selection as among the chief factors in evolution, there can be little doubt, with historical facts in evidence, that there is some such law of moral selection functioning in human history. The empires of Egypt, of Babylon, Rome, and

Digitized by Google

the Isles of Greece were not accidents. They seem to have appeared at the exact time for a definite purpose and to have passed away when their mission was accomplished. Each nation seems to have been endowed with some particular genius not possessed by another which was demanded by its age, or needed to initiate some forward movement in a succeeding period. The Greek, with his civilizing spirit and his taste for literature and art, and the Roman, with his genius for law and organization, illustrate the working of this mysterious principle. Shall we, then, exclude the Hebrew nation, the church of the pre-Christian period, which in its special genius for religion rose so far above all other nations of antiquity that it may be regarded as the only spiritual people? Monotheism began with Abraham, the progenitor of the Hebrew race, and, notwithstanding national apostasies, following the example of wicked rulers, monotheism remained the religion of the race. Was Israel's appearance in history a mere accident? It was called and knew itself to be the chosen race. Did it have any mission distinct in character and purpose from every other nation, as was the mission of Rome or Greece?

Digitized by Google

Whatever view we may have of historical development, it stands as a most remarkable fact in human history that in the midst of kingdoms built upon brute force a nation should be established upon ideas and sustained through its long history by principles which were absolutely the reverse of the political, social, and military structure of those kingdoms. How can this difference be accounted for on any theory of accident, or upon any purely materialistic conception of natural law? There was no soil, no resident force, out of which such a nation could spring. Nor were the Hebrews themselves, degenerated as they were by their slavery in Egypt and accustomed only to the merciless tyranny of their masters, different from other people. Not until they had been delivered from their environment, and the transforming power of spiritual ideals had been imposed upon them, and had to some degree changed their world-view, did the nation awake to its chosen destiny and its innate susceptibility to the highest spiritual development. It was with the awakening that the spirit of the nation manifested itself and blossomed out in its marvelous literature, especially in those glorious psalms which transcend the loftiest reaches of

Digitized by Google

all other religions and still voice the deepest longings of the human heart.

Thanks to archæological researches in the East, the records of those ages in Mesopotamia, Assyria, and Egypt, recounting the sieges, victories, and bloody deeds of world-conquerors, show that ruthless might was everywhere supreme. And if the exultations of a Shisak or a Nebuchadnezzar over defeated enemies may be paralleled in the early records of the Hebrew people, in the books of Judges or of Kings, or even in the Psalms, there is nevertheless underlying the initial struggle of a people fighting for the land of their fathers a national consciousness created by their lawgiver and deliverer, Moses, which we do not find in other peoples, that the commonwealth to be established later shall not be founded upon military might and race hatred but upon the imponderable forces of justice, righteousness and mercy — eternal principles according to which nations rise or fall and which alone exalt a nation.

It is this deep sense of antagonism between the moral ideals of Israel and the ideals of the nations about them, that essentially differentiates the Israelitish people from all others and that gives such meaning and force

Digitized by Google

to the denunciation of the prophets against those incarnations of ruthless power, Babylon and Assyria, Egypt and Moab. All through the messages of the prophets, who were not only religious teachers but also the statesmen of Israel, there runs like a beam of light in the darkness a conviction that never falters that a day shall come when those nations shall be destroyed and the principles they embody; that war shall cease, that justice and love shall be ruling forces, and nations "shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruninghooks."

This vision of a better day is bound up with the Messianic idea, and this idea is imbedded in the soul of the people. It is out of this chosen race the Messiah shall arise and usher in the new world-order. "Unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given; and the government shall be upon his shoulder; and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counselor, the mighty God, The everlasting Father, The Prince of Peace" (Isa. 9. 6). "He shall bring forth judgment to the Gentiles. He shall not cry, nor lift up, nor cause his voice to be heard in the street. A bruised reed shall he not break, and the smoking flax shall he not quench; he shall bring forth judgment unto truth. He

Digitized by Google

shall not fail nor be discouraged, till he have set judgment in the earth: and the isles shall wait for his law" (Isa. 42. 1-4).

It was for this purpose that by a divine law of selection from all other races, the Hebrew people were called. It was for the creation of a moral condition that would make possible the coming of the kingdom of God that Israel was given the law, and prophets and seers and the higher revelations of God. The statesmen of Israel never dreamed but that Israel should finally conquer her enemies and become at last the supreme lawgiver, the spiritual teacher of the nations. Micah, contemporary with Isaiah and Hosea, declares (4. 1-3): "In the last days it shall come to pass, that the mountain of the house of the Lord shall be established in the top of the mountains, and it shall be exalted above the hills; and people shall flow unto it. And many nations shall come, and say, Come, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, and to the house of the God of Jacob; and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths: for the law shall go forth of Zion, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem. And he shall judge among many people, and rebuke strong nations afar off; and they shall

Digitized by Google

beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks: nation shall not lift up a sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

Such a radical change in world conditions as this foreshadows could result only from Israel's successful mission among the nations. History could not continue under the rule of empires built upon despotism and maintained by cruelty. There must in the nature of things arise some new order, some potent agent which would be able to substitute the spiritual for the material, freedom for slavery, and change the whole social system. This instrument from the moral standpoint of the prophets could be no other than Israel, since no other nation possessed those ideas of liberty, of righteousness, and of a spiritualized humanity necessary to the social and political redemption of the world.

The revelation of God to Israel was not for Israel alone, nor was national or personal piety an end in itself. Then, as now, because grounded in the moral constitution of things,

"Thyself and thy belongings
Are not thine own, so proper as to waste
Thyself upon thy virtues, they on thee.
Heaven doth with us as we with torches do

Digitized by Google

Not light them for themselves; for if our virtues
Did not go forth of us, 'twere all alike
As if we had them not."

Religion acceptable to Jehovah consisted not in "bowing down the head like a bulrush," not in afflicting one's soul in selfish delight that he is holier than others, not in theological strife and debate,

"Fighting like demons for conciliation
And hating each other for the love of God."

but in spreading light among the Gentiles and in doing the world's work from a motive born of love for God and Humanity. "Is not this the fast," in contrast to established ritual, and formal piety, says Jehovah (Isa., chap 58), "that I have chosen? to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, to let the oppressed go free and that ye break every yoke?"

Here was the call of Israel to the moral leadership of the world. No higher destiny was ever offered to any people. Do this, says Jehovah, *"And they that shall be of thee shall build the old waste places: thou shalt raise up the foundations of many generations; and thou shalt be called The repairer of the breach, The restorer of the paths to dwell in."* Under the invigorating influence of new con-

Digitized by Google

ceptions of human worth, freedom from oppression, deliverance from yokes of misery and social degeneracy, civilization shall again go forward, ruined cities and villages destroyed by war and pillage shall again rise to prosperity; the hopes and ideals of generations shall be realized; racial hatreds and divisions shall be done away; and the paths of peace, obliterated for ages by ravages of war, shall be restored. Henceforth nations may dwell in safety.

Israel only could do this, since Israel only had the oracles of God, the means by which this could be accomplished. But Israel failed in its mission and thus entered upon that slow but sure decline of national power which inevitably comes to every people, whether Jew or Roman, Greek or German, who fail to understand their true mission in history, or, apprehending it, pervert it, and, building solely for their own glory, surrender at last to the corroding evils which their selfish policy has engendered.

What might have been the effect on the course of history and its influence on civilization had Israel penetrated Assyria, Egypt, or Babylon with its ethical spirit, it is idle to conjecture. But that those peoples could be

Digitized by Google

made responsive to the religion of Israel, the book of Jonah, whether history or fiction, and the vision of Ezekiel of the River of Life fertilizing the sandy deserts of Babylonia, strongly indicate. Other scriptures just as strongly suggest that Israel was fully conscious of its duty to spread the knowledge of Jehovah among the Gentiles.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER VIII

THE HISTORICAL MISSION OF JESUS

ISRAEL failed. But the failure of Israel to realize the purpose of God was not the failure of the idea. The purposes of God in history are not dependent upon the success or failure of any particular agency. In Christ the idea of the kingdom, the reign of God in the soul of humanity, which with the failure of Israel seemed to have faded away, appeared again but in clearer and brighter light than was ever seen even by the prophets of the ancient revelation. Jesus came to inaugurate the kingdom. In him the kingdom, the idea of God, was embodied. His first plangent utterance upon entering his mission was, *"Repent; for the kingdom of heaven is at hand."*

It is impossible to comprehend the full meaning of that announcement in the mind of Jesus and its significance in human history, unless one keeps before him the dark background to which it stands in contrast. Babylon, Egypt, Assyria, imperial Rome — king-

Digitized by Google

doms of force, embodiments of tyranny over the souls and bodies of men—loom behind this proclamation of another kingdom, a kingdom of love, of soul freedom, a spiritual kingdom, the kingdom of God.

It is of remarkable significance that at the beginning of his ministry Jesus should take up and repeat the very words of Isaiah in which that prophet had announced the purpose of God in Israel. Jesus takes up and announces the continuance of this idea which Israel had abandoned, as the imperishable purpose of the designing God slowly working through all the revolutions of time, the rise and fall of kingdoms and diversities of civilizations to establish upon earth the kingdom of heaven. This is the one note that begins and characterizes his whole teaching to the day of his death. And this is precisely what reason, what the logic of things, would expect him to do, if he were the embodiment of the idea which from the beginning had been hidden in the processes of human development. In him humanity sees its ultimate self. In him is the sum of all (Eph. 1). He is the Restorer, since he alone, as history has so far demonstrated, furnished those ideals which are adequate to the world's redemption; the

Digitized by Google

Healer who is adequate to the world's ills, the social and political evils which corrupt national life and breed those bloody revolutions which, as certainly as the laws of action and reaction, inevitably follow periods of luxury, oppression, and vice. He is the Unifier. He alone can heal the divisions of mankind, uniting by a spiritual bond all men to himself and thus to each other, since he, and he alone, has broken down the middle wall of partition between Jew and Gentile, the invidious distinctions between races which engender war and national hatreds and render the brotherhood of Man an iridescent but idle dream. In him, and in him alone, the Universal Man, humanity finds its common center. In him is the peace of the world.

Having laid down the principles, the platform of his kingdom, which, while primarily addressed to the individual—since humanity is composed of individuals—like the Laws of God on Sinai, they become immediately capable of universal application. Jesus committed these principles to his church. *"And Jesus came and spake unto them, saying, All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of*

Digitized by Google

the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world."

The commission of the church, it will be observed, is to the "nations." The approach to the nations is not through governments, but through individuals comprising the nations. The morality or the spiritual teachings of Jesus implanted in the individual must therefore, ideally, be the morality of the nation. There cannot be two moralities, as the Bernhardis and Treitschkes affirm—one kind for the individual and another kind for the state. The individual entering the kingdom of God must carry up into all stations in life, all positions in the state, the same principles which inspire him in the presence of the Holy God. He cannot be one person in public life or official station, and another in private life. Thus will the leaven "leaven the whole lump" and thus only can "the kingdoms of this world become the kingdom of our Lord and his Christ." Machiavelli, Metternich, a Disraeli or a Bismarck, a Bernstorff, or a congeries of conspirators in Wilhelmstrasse spreading their network of villainies, will have little hope of plunging the nations into blood and

Digitized by Google

ruin where the principles of Jesus have their application.

We know only too well that the church failed in large degree to fulfill this mission. The reasons for its failure should be helpful in avoiding failure now.

Why did it fail? Of all the reasons alleged for the failure of the primitive church, the church of the Middle Ages, the church of the Reformation, and the often declared failure of the modern church to influence the whole of life, there is no reason so devoid of reason as that offered by those who, curiously enough, stubbornly refuse to test their assertions, that the church failed because the ethical teachings of Jesus are impracticable. His lofty ethics, they affirm, are beautiful dreams, idyllic, tender and sweet in their Palestinian setting, but wholly impracticable in the fierce struggle for existence in the modern day, and are essentially antagonistic to the social order of the Western world.

Friedrich Nauman, author of Mittel-Europa, in his Briefe über Religion, quoted by Baron F. Von Hügel, presents this view in the best form. He says:

> We see Jesus, in the international empire of the Romans, in the little Jewish corner. Only there could

Digitized by Google

he arise, only there did he arise. . . . What Jesus offers is adoption to be children of God in Galilee. . . . I lay stress upon the words "in Galilee." . . . Jesus says "From him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away" (Matt. 5. 42). Only those have a right to join as experts in the discussion of this saying who have actually attempted to follow it literally. Jesus says "When thou makest a feast, call the poor, the maimed, the lame, the blind" (Luke 14. 13). Just you transfer this directly to our circumstances. He says "Take no thought for the morrow," ask not "What shall we eat? or, What shall we drink?" (Matt. 6. 34, 31.) But what does our political economy teach, and what do we instil into our children? Jesus says, "Sell that thou hast, and give it to the poor" (Matt. 19. 21). But who is ready to sell, simply to transform his field or his factory into alms? Is it only the hardness of our hearts and our innate sinfulness, if we do not carry out all these injunctions to the letter? Indeed, would it be a good fortune for anyone, if we did so? Are we even free, morally free, to will to do so? . . .

This, our capitalistic world, in which we live, because none other exists for us, is organized according to the principle "Thou shalt covet thy neighbor's house! Thou shalt will to gain the market which the English hold, thou shalt get the influence in Constantinople which the French possessed, thou shalt produce in painting what hitherto appears to be the privilege of the Parisians, thou shalt eat the bread which, in strictness, the Russian peasant himself should eat! And so on, endlessly: Thou shalt—covet! . . . All the moods of the gospel only hover, like distant, white clouds of longing, above all the actual doings of our time" (p. 65).

Now, there is not a scintilla of doubt but that the teachings of Jesus are utterly impos-

Digitized by Google

sible in the social order of the present day *to those who refuse to accept them.* Of course Jesus is antagonistic to Mammon. Of course the Sermon on the Mount is opposed to the jungle law of Darwin. The trouble, however, is not with the teachings of Jesus, but with the social order. What element is there in the present constitution of society, built upon this jungle law of struggle for survival of the fittest, that in the depths of their souls the conscience of men does not condemn? And what element is there in the loftiest teachings of Jesus, whether they practice them or not, that in the depths of their moral nature, and in their healthiest and loftiest moments, the souls of men do not approve? God himself is impracticable to those who deny him. Jesus is impracticable to war lords, to gamblers in the people's food and resources, to thieves, exploiters of the people; to the oppressors of the hireling in his wages, breeders of anarchy and social ruin, to the lovers of sybarite luxury faring sumptuously every day, riding with power and limitless pride on the high places of the earth and treating with contemptuous arrogance or indifference the poor, the unfortunate, the weak and the ignorant—pitiable products of that very order of society which

Digitized by Google

is so bitterly hostile to the teachings of Jesus. Jesus is impracticable to such, just as he is impracticable to those sons of Chaos, promoters of social discontent, snarling apostles of anarchy who, under the cry of social justice, seek murder and bloodshed and destruction of property. His crystal-clear sincerity condemns the professional propagandist who never did an honest day's work in his life. His simple justice condemns the cunning exploiter of labor using the power of unions and associations for revenge on employers, who, exercising their own rights to personal freedom, refuse to recognize incompetency and savage usurpation, lawless as Bolshevism, as sole competent judge of industrial disputes. Jesus is impracticable to these enemies of an honest, wholesome human social order as Eternal Justice is; but to those who would love God and man and would welcome the kingdom of heaven on earth, the teachings of Jesus are not impracticable. In them they see universal *principles* of righteousness and not the petty details of Pharisaic legalism masquerading as religion.

But lovers of the good do not interpret Jesus as Nauman does. They do not think that in order to live, in order to enjoy the

Digitized by Google

glories of nature, the refined delights of cultured society, of literature and art, of music and the drama, that in order even to become rich and powerful, to be a great capitalist, a statesman or a promoter of vast enterprises, it is at all necessary to be a liar or a thief, a murderer, a debauchee, or an all-around diplomatic scoundrel; they do not think that war and bloodshed, fraudulent dealing, political corruption, hatred of God and contempt for man, injustice, cruelty, and oppression are at all necessary to the development of civilization. On the contrary, they do have a mighty conviction that violence is not cured by violence, that purity of soul is lovelier than vice, that love is better than hate, that meekness is stronger than arrogance, and that honest motives expressed in just deeds are more in harmony with the moral constitution of human nature, even though it be degraded and as "ugly as a fallen angel grown wrinkled," than is the hard materialistic philosophy of self which is the curse of modern life.

Jesus was no dreamer. He knew the social condition of the millions in Palestine. He was well acquainted with the moral atmosphere of Jerusalem and the political conspiracies in Herod's palace at Cæsarea. The royal "fox"

Digitized by Google

in the palace and the ecclesiastical politician in the temple were both well known to him, and they knew that he knew them far better than anyone else knew them. He who spake the parable of the unjust steward, showing how low values are lifted to higher, the parable of the pounds, putting premium on diligence, and the story of the prodigal son, in which chronic discontent against law and order ends at last in anarchy and swine's husks—such a Teacher was not standing very remote from social unrest, economic problems, and human relationships.

Jesus was no Buddha. No one who lived in the midst of the political and religious cross currents then running in Palestine, religious factions kept from each other's throats only by Roman spears, fierce rebellion against Rome itself seething in the hearts of the masses, class hatreds, rich against poor and poor against rich — no one, certainly not Jesus with his clear discernment of social ills and impending doom of the whole nation, could be ignorant of the obvious facts of life that in all questions relating to the family, labor, trade, property and the state, there are whole regions in which the individual must be guided by experience, and not by set rules

Digitized by Google

which may or may not apply to the case. This does not mean, as some theologians insist, that these various complexes of life, such as trade, the powers and activities of the state, the state itself, are in a totally different sphere from the individual in relation to religion. But it does signify that if a man is actuated by the right motives, if the love of God and love for his fellows are dominating factors in his innermost life, his relations to all such questions, infinite in variety, character, and circumstance, since they are not precisely the same to all men everywhere, may safely be left to his private judgment, his intellectual and moral sense.

The idea that Jesus should have laid down exact rules for every act of every man in every conceivable relation in our complex human life, as the logic of Nauman's criticisms of Jesus's ethics lead us to, is to put the broad teaching of Jesus in clamps. Jesus recognizes the moral unity of the race. He, therefore, lays down *universal principles.* He whose motives are pure will act purely, he will know how, and when, to apply these principles. This is the secret of Jesus: he puts right motives in the heart and turns the man loose. *"The words that I speak unto*

Digitized by Google

you," said Jesus, *"they are spirit, and they are life,"* with the result, as a French writer (Monnier, *La Mission Historique de Jesus,* page 334) declares, "The religion of Jesus transformed the world, not by the observances which he prescribed, but by the sentiments which he inspired."

When Jesus says, "Resist not evil," he is not inviting disaster, political and social, to his followers, and thereby contributing to the perpetuation of evil. He is not encouraging strong nations to attack the weaker, who by nonresistance will make the invasion of their country easier; nor is he enthroning Neros and Caligulas, or counseling Belgium to throw open her gates to the invader, though she might save her life at the price of her soul. He is not forbidding interference with German atrocities, sinking Lusitanias and massacreing old women and children; nor when he says, "Whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also," is he making it easy for brutality to outrage innocence with impunity—all of which would result if literalistic interpreters of Jesus followed their logic. But what he does teach is avoidance of individual and international feuds, revenge, reprisals, as of the old law, "An eye for an eye,

Digitized by Google

a tooth for a tooth." Wars are not cured by wars, wrongs by wrongs. Submission to personal injury for the kingdom of heaven's sake is better for the individual and for society than fanning the flames of wild revenge.

Jesus is the gospel. The four gospels are records. His *life* is the standard for human life.

But considering the task before it, the overthrow of false religions intrenched for a thousand of years in the traditions, the habits and customs of divers races, and substituting therefor a purer religion which created a new world, the *church has not failed as badly* as critics of the church, who attribute moral progress to intellectual advancement only, would have us believe. Such partisan critics suffer from a confusion of thought. They confound progress with civilization. A nation may be highly civilized, polished in manners, scientific, inventive, devoted to literature and the culture of the beautiful, and yet be indifferent toward moral progress, pursuing that ideal of the perfect Good with wings of lead. It is quite true that all progress in humanizing society cannot be attributed solely to the church. Such influences as science, ethics, æsthetics mold the manners and ex-

Digitized by Google

pand the intellect, apart from the church. But surveying the development of civilization as a whole from the days of imperial Rome to the present, it must be conceded that the struggle toward the moral ideal, the inspiration to the realization of political freedom for all men, and not, as in the democracy of Athens, for the few, Justice and Fraternity, had the strongest impulse in the teachings of Jesus applied by the church to the laws, customs and institutions of the people among whom it labored.

Jesus said, "My words shall never pass away." Imperishable, they have entered the laws, the institutions, the civilization of the world. The name of Phidias, it was said, was so chiseled into his masterpiece, the goddess Athenæ, that it could not be erased without destroying the statue. It is conceivable that, in some far distant age, a student of history from the valleys of Tibet may sit down on the shores of the Chinese Sea and sketch the decline and fall of Western civilization, but it is not conceivable that the teachings of Jesus will ever be eradicated from the soul of humanity.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER IX

THE DUTY OF THE MODERN CHURCH

THESE principles Jesus committed to his church, and his church challenged the empire. The impact of those ideals upon society was the same in effect as their transforming power is in the life of the individual. He becomes a new creature, it became a new world. It was then, for a brief period, like the coming of the sun from behind a cloud, that the kingdom of God was visible on earth. Within the circle of the church all barriers of race and birth, of culture and wealth, were broken down. The disciple of Plato became the teacher of hucksters and laborers; the noble matron who yesterday urged on with jeweled hands bloody combats in the arena now ministered to the saints; the proud patrician, who looked with contempt upon barbarian kings crowding the Appian Way, became a brother to the slave who was the bondsman of Jesus Christ. The democracy of Jesus had con-

Digitized by Google

quered the autocracy of Cæsar. Its social message, as Lecky fitly terms it (The History of European Morals, Vol. II, page 130), was "a proclamation of the universal brotherhood of man."

But the ideal of the kingdom suffered eclipse. Every great historical movement originates in prophetic fire. The vision of the ideal is the inspiration of the prophet. In the soul of humanity reside latent forces which, responding to elemental truths, destroy ancient falsehoods, overturn the old order and change the course of history. Nothing can resist the explosive power of such forces. In the beginning the revolution is characterized by passionate self-surrender to the idea, by contempt for suffering, by scorn for mockery and death. The idea alone is supreme. No ties of blood, no appeal to self-interest, not even fear of death, can stand between the disciple and the realization of the ideal which illuminates him and transforms him. Its enthusiasms lift its apostles to the highest levels of being; the blind see, the deaf hear, the outcast and the rabble rise from tombs of living death to new life and spread the holy fire; the rich, the indolent, the philosopher and the clown, the statesman and the social reformer,

Digitized by Google

all classes wearied of the present order, are swept by its mighty inspirations and gleaming hopes into a new world and lift the age or the century in which they live to higher planes than ever could have been reached by the slow process of social development.

But every institution, whether human or divine, is sustained solely by the forces which gave it birth. As these die it dies. The second stage of the movement is the cooling off, the reflective period. It becomes a reminiscent period, a day of philosophizing, a day of compiling of biographies, of writing history instead of making it, a period of crystallization of forces and ideas into organization, of bureaucratic administration, and the reach for social prestige, for wealth and power—slowly gliding into its third stage of *Apologia,* explanation and decadence.

So it was with the church. There comes a time when where some great battle was fought, or where Elishas crossed Jordans, smiting a path through the waters with mantles of power, the inheritors of the freedom won, or of the revelation bestowed, will sit around and pick blackberries. Where there is no prophetic vision there is no prophetic power. The fire has died out.

Digitized by Google

The church failed. It stepped from the prison to the throne. Never was the church a greater regenerating force in human life than when she was housed in the Catacombs; when instead of seeking power she plucked the purple flowers of martyrdom.

The church failed to fulfill its mission, to realize the kingdom of God, so far as it may be achieved in any one generation, not because it was burdened with an impossible task, the reconstruction of civilization on the principles of Jesus as foundation stones, weighty as that task was, and is, but for the sole reason that, like Israel, it grew false to its own ideals. It linked itself with the state, as the early church did under Constantine, and succumbed to the spirit and the methods of the state. Amid the conflicts of rival princes following the break-up of the empire in the West, it ascended the dread heights of Cæsarian power and hid the cross of Christ in the folds of the imperial purple. The vision of a spiritual kingdom faded away before the rising splendor of an organization that rivaled the empire of the Cæsars. Papalism rose as the empire declined, and as political power and wealth increased spiritual power decreased. "You see," said Pope Innocent IV to Thomas

Digitized by Google

Aquinas, one day, as he pointed to some loads of treasure that were being carried into the Vatican, "that the day is passed when the church could say 'Silver and gold have I none.'"

"Yes, holy father," replied Thomas, "and the day is also passed when she can say to the paralytic, 'Take up thy bed and walk.'"

The church, we admit, failed also at the Reformation. The idea of a theocratic kingdom took possession in crudest form among certain sects, but the kingdom of God as proclaimed by Jesus was lost sight of by the church in the conflicts of the period. The political, religious, and the humanistic forces originating in the Renaissance, and which had been slowly gathering strength, finally exploded and disrupted, perhaps forever, the unity of Christendom. The *Corpus Christianum* was rent asunder. The one church became many. Those that broke away from the Cæsaro-Papalism of Rome, instead of uniting in one body, separated from each other and became national churches, thus repeating the blunder of the church under Constantine. For the protection the state afforded, each national church supported the state, became subject to the state, and, allied with the

Digitized by Google

state in its policies, gave divine sanction to its decrees. Neither Luther nor Melanchthon, Zwingle or Calvin or Bucer, or any of the leaders of the Reformation in Germany or in Switzerland, and certainly none in England, considered church and state as two distinct and independent bodies. If they did not subject the church in everything, as Zwingle did, to the state, they would, as Calvin did in Geneva, subject the state to the church.

In vain will the historian search for any important contribution to the free development of the modern spirit originating in national churches, or beyond that which the state itself has made. State churches are not independent. Subsidized by government, they naturally support government, defend it, indorse its policies, sanctify its ambitions, and anathematize those who do not thank heaven for its victories in war which, whether just or unjust, are certain evidence of the favor of God. When did a national church protest against a war the state government had determined upon, and, in defiance of its promoters, appeal to the nation?

Looking back on those tumultuous days of the Reformation when the modern age was struggling to be born, it can be clearly seen

Digitized by Google

why the churches, breaking away from Rome, put themselves under the protection of the state, and were therefore unable to bring to the front the idea of the kingdom of God, or rather universal peace, as a condition of its sway in the world.

But the day of subservience to the state, that is, to a body of statesmen who for the time being control the state, is, or should be, forever gone. The cry of Cavour for a "Free church in a free state" has become a universal conviction and a reality, even at the present in Germany, and in England, despite the residuum of Toryism which still lingers in classic shades and in circles of special privilege.

A new day, therefore, has come to the church. There is no reason why it should fail now. Christ our Lord sets before the church of the twentieth century an open door of opportunity such as was never opened before in the course of its history. Now, if it has the divine daring to do so, it may fulfill the prophecy of its mission in history, a "healer of the breach, a leader of the paths for the people to walk in." Never before in modern times was the church in all lands and in all languages endowed with leaders of greater gifts, with clearer sight and wider

Digitized by Google

vision. Hence, this war gives the church, now endowed with such leadership, the opportunity to redeem the past, to swing forward to the head of the column as the leader of the nations in paths of peace. As Saint Paul, standing between the old and new eras, wrote to the Corinthians (1 Cor. 10. 11), we also at this hour are *"confronted with the ages"!* In our day the streams of history converge, a new era opens in the progress of humanity, and a new day dawns for the Church of God. Never will the world be the same again; the opportunity and man, the church and its chance, face each other and what is done, or is not done, will profoundly determine the thought and the life of the future.

It is for the church to discern the day of its visitation. To every nation, to the church in every new age, such a day comes, and such a day is now. We have seen that even if the United States, with or without reservations, should join the entente powers in a League of Nations, the moral effect of this international combine upon the peoples of the world has been already lost. The League of Nations, some think, is already dead. Poland defies it, Rumania, Italy, Germany—all who have a territorial grievance—defy it; and

Digitized by Google

neither England nor France is able or willing to enforce acquiescence in the Treaty of Versailles. The widespread suspicion that the map of Europe as drawn at Versailles cannot remain as drawn but must involve further struggle, this time involving the whole Islamic peoples in the East, rests heavily upon all Europe.

Can the church of God stand by and see humanity go once more the road to Calvary without demanding in every land that war shall cease?

What is the church for? It is now a trite saying that the church is for service. We hear it at every convention, great and small, as if there were some magic in the repeating of it, but *what kind of service?* Every intelligent man now knows that the church that does the greatest service spiritually and socially in the largest sphere is the church that fills out the ideal of her Lord. A little, puny, starveling of a so-called church, so narrow in its conceptions of the purpose of Christ in founding his church, and so selfish in its work that it is driven for very shame to invent reasons and excuses for its isolation from the manifold interests of men, and tries to think that this seclusion from the world is piety—such

Digitized by Google

a church has no right to exist. It is a caricature, an imposition and a humbug, an ecclesiastical fakir, which men will not sustain in that day when they come—as they surely will—to appraise the value of every church to the cause of humanity. Every man of modern mind knows this. Christ is for humanity. He is for any church only so far as that church is for humanity.

But what larger service can the church do to the present age, and for all time to come, than to bring about perpetual peace on the earth, one phase of the kingdom of God? Is not this the duty of the church? Is the church true to her calling if she turns this duty over to the state alone, as something that belongs solely to government? Why, then, does the church interfere with the liquor traffic, with questions of social welfare which it is the duty of the state solely to determine? We have gone far beyond all such interrogations in these days, and in our deepest selves know that nothing human is alien to the Christian Church. The whole man belongs to Christ.

The government of any state is the representative of the people. Its relations to other governments, its contracts or understandings

Digitized by Google

are, or should be, known to the people. Such government does not exist apart from the people; it is the people, and because it is this it can be compelled to obey the will of the people. The church, therefore, as a body, and as a part of the people, has equal right with every other part to be heard in the councils of the government which affect the weal or woe of the nation and of other nations, since humanity is one, all men everywhere being members one of another.

There was a time when, by the power of spiritual authority, recognized in some dim way as of equal authority with the state, the church could forbid even a Roman emperor, Theodosius, after his massacre of the Thessalonians, to approach the altar with bloody hands; a time when she could wrench the palladium of English law and freedom, the Magna Charta, from a lawless king; a time when, wrestling with the chaos and barbarism of northern Europe, she could defend the rights of men and throw her protection over the weakest that appealed to her aid. That day has gone. But the conscience of humanity has not gone. The Church of God, though divided, still has authority and power to stir the conscience of Christen-

Digitized by Google

dom *if it would bring to bear united protest on the belligerent policies of the nations.*

Since the policies of statesmen in every country have failed, why should not the church now apply the principles of Jesus Christ to the need of the world? If how to bring peace will test, as Lord Balfour said, "the statesmanship of the world," the opportunity of the church to test the teachings of Jesus in world problems should be welcomed by statesmen, if they prefer the world's peace to their political ambitions. For it seems, for reasons already stated, as certain as anything in the future can be certain, that if the League of Nations depends for its success solely upon the several governments now signatory to its covenant, it will be a bitter disappointment. Man cannot redeem himself politically any more than he can spiritually, without the aid of moral impulse.

The question, then, the most urgent for the Christian Church, is, What can the churches do in all lands to assist the leaders of political thought and the responsible heads of government to make such a League of Nations an accomplished fact? Is it desirable that the churches should ally themselves with this cause? That is to say, shall the church here-

Digitized by Google

after, as in the past, allow the politics of the world to be conducted from the standpoint of the material interests of the nations, or shall international dealings be conducted from the standpoint of the kingdom of God? Shall material interests control, or shall the spirit of Christian morality be interfused in all international diplomacy? How long shall this world be governed solely by selfish interests, without regard to real justice, or any of the civilizing and spiritualizing principles of Jesus Christ? Shall the church of the future continue to be a rubber stamp for political parties? Shall her ministers be state-chaplains or prophets of God?

If the churches were determined that governments shall absolutely sever themselves from the old political methods, which never have brought peace to mankind, as they are that the gospel shall be preached to the heathen at home and abroad, the line of cleavage between government and people in foreign affairs would not be so deep nor so broad. So long as the assumption exists and is acted upon that the church has nothing to do with politics, so long will governments go their way independent of the will of the people until they need the aid of the people to give

Digitized by Google

sanction to their acts. But the church without interfering in the duties of the state can put a curb on the political designs of statesmen inspired by party or financial interests to fling the kindred of the earth into mortal combat.

To this end appeal should be made to Christians in all lands to consider what the effect on Christian thought would be if the churches *—all the churches of Christendom—should unite in their Synods or Councils, Conferences or General Assemblies or through their representatives, lay and clerical, the bishops and archbishops and the leaders of the nonconformist bodies of England and France, Italy, and Germany; the bishops and other leaders of the great Protestant and Catholic churches of America—if Christendom should meet together in council and unite in a Christian League to support an international League of peace established by the political powers of the world, the vision of prophecy would be realized, the will of God expressed at the birth of his Son the Prince of Peace would be done, and the way opened as it has never been opened for the coming of the kingdom of God.*

At Central Hall, Westminster, London, November, 1918, a conference, the press re-

Digitized by Google

ports inform us, was held to consider this subject. It was a notable gathering. The conference was attended by representatives nominated by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, the chairman of the Baptist Union of England and Wales, the presidents of the Primitive Methodist, United Methodist, and Wesleyan Methodist churches, and Cardinal Bourne. Two resolutions were adopted by the meeting, and afterward forwarded to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who has since intimated his intention of calling a representative gathering at Lambeth, which, in the first instance, will be held in private. The resolutions are as follows:

1. That this meeting, realizing the responsibility of the churches in reference to the speedy furtherance of the League of Nations proposal, respectfully requests the Archbishop of Canterbury to summon a gathering, consisting of the heads of all the British churches, together with other representatives by them appointed, to confer without delay and to appoint a standing committee to take appropriate action in support of the League of Nations proposal.

2. That this meeting suggests, as exemplifying the kind of work which could be undertaken by the standing committee: (1) The holding at an early date of a national conference, representative of all the churches, at

Digitized by Google

which the support of the churches to the League of Nations proposal could be focused and a lead given to the Christian opinion of the nation. (2) The endeavor, in the first instance, to secure similar united action in support of the League of Nations proposal, or to cooperate with similar movements, on the part of the Christian churches of the Dominions and of the United States of America.

3. The consideration of methods of cooperation with similar Christian movements in other countries.

4. Educational propaganda, not only for the establishment of a League of Nations, but also for its support during the years when the League would be on its trial.

Is a Christian League of Nations, supporting the League proposed by England, France, the United States, and Italy, feasible? Is it practicable? Is it a dream of Utopia? Consider it seriously. If military nations, through governmental institutions, the universities, the pulpits, and the press, can instill through long periods into the masses of their people the spirit of war, for offense or defense, could not the church also in every land destroy the teachings of barbarism and by means of Christian education, a truly Christian pulpit, and the apostolate of a Christian press, creating public opinion, bring all classes of society to the support of the peaceful policies of their respective governments? It will be easier to do this than to tax the nations for increase in

Digitized by Google

armaments, to drench the earth with blood in aggressive warfare, to send to the slaughter of the battlefield the finest manhood of the world, either to sustain imperial dynasties or self-determined boundaries or, on pretext of national danger, to satisfy the ambition of war lords or the gamblers of a nation's welfare.

In what effective way, then, can the church assist the League of Nations?

It is evident that the church in every land must put itself in line with the best efforts of the League to bring peace to the nations. Civilization must be born again. The world can never go on in the old way of thinking which has led to infinite misery and the dissolution of everything men valued and relied upon. The church itself must move into larger fields, and, despite the criticism and misunderstanding which will surely come, the political interests of men in their moral aspects must be directed in the interest of world peace, with an eye single to the glory of God and the well-being of humanity.

Of course, it will be assumed that since the church failed either to prevent or to shorten the war, it can be of little practical worth in influencing either governments or peoples of the belligerent nations. It also will be urged

Digitized by Google

that the church, because of its divisions, cannot impress governments with united opinion, or bring to bear in any crises united action. The conclusion, therefore, will be that the church should leave affairs of state to statesmen and devote itself to spiritual matters.

This is cheap advice, and is usually given by those who would continue the old monopoly of government such as they enjoyed before they disrupted Europe. But are not these raucous voices louder and harsher than the facts will warrant? Are not these solicitous guardians of the church's spirituality really more interested in the sale of Diana's images than in the truth of Paul's preaching, in the profits of war rather than in the blood of the people, poured out on battlefields, to no purpose but the triumph of victory over another people as miserable as themselves?

One need not add to nor attempt to answer the indictments against the church that it has lost its influence over the masses, that the masses have lost faith in the church, that the church has lost faith in itself as a world-redeeming power in its relation to world-government. It requires no great intellectual capacity, nor is it a distinguishing evidence of moral excellence, to indulge in supercilious

Digitized by Google

criticism of the failure of the church to prevent the war.

There are many causes for the weakness and decline of popular faith in the church. It cannot be denied that materialistic thought turned God the Creator into an interrogation mark, that destructive criticism, taught in many universities for the past thirty years, devitalizing the positive truths of the gospel, played into the hands of the enemies of religion, that the historic faith was denied, that in the atmosphere of doubt created by rationalist preaching and teaching, the Christ of the people in many quarters faded away into dim uncertainty and the authority of the church faded with him.

In every country in Europe, and in this country also before the war, a feeling of indifference, a wave of practical infidelity, was sweeping over the people. The masses were submerged in materialistic thinking and living, finding altogether the satisfactions of life in the grossness of earthly pleasures. The churches, many of them, in every city were empty, notwithstanding every device, from operatic performances to the antics of the mountebank, to entice the man in the street to fill the desolate void. This may be ad-

Digitized by Google

mitted. And it may be admitted further that no great spiritual leader or apostle in any country in Europe held commanding spiritual influence over the masses, whose souls, irresponsive to official religion, were thrilled by the apostles of socialism and anarchy. But there were no flaming evangels; no Lacordaire, no Spurgeon, no Stoecker, though in the United States we had some notable leaders, such as Cadman, Jefferson, Hillis, Gunsaulus, Bishop McDowell, in all denominations who preached Christ crucified as the only hope of the world. No voice of the Roman Catholic Church in all Europe, not even the Roman pontiff himself, could appeal effectively to the crowned heads of Europe or to the masses of the people to stop this war, and when the war, like the thunders of the Almighty in the skies, broke loose in all its devastating horror, one voice alone in all Europe, not the Vatican, not Canterbury, not York, but the voice of the heroic martyr of Belgium, Cardinal Mercier, the Archbishop of Malines, one voice alone rose above the shouts of battle and the shock of arms and compelled the whole world to behold in wrath the unspeakable barbarism of war.

All this may be admitted in a degree, and

Digitized by Google

one may not be able to refute the charge that the church has failed to influence the masses or to preserve the unity of the nations, because it has broken its own unity; and by reason of its divisions has brought forth weakness instead of strength. All this in a measure may be true, and, as in a critical hour in the French Revolution, the mighty Mirabeau cried out in the Convention, "The sins of my youth prevent me from saving France!" so might the church have cried out at the beginning of this war, "My sins and divisions prevent me from saving Europe and the world."

Christendom is divided. Protestantism is divided. But let us not exaggerate the evil, if it is an evil. To superficial observers who would magnify our shortcomings, it may seem that the lack of the unifying principle of religion is too pronounced in the divisions of the church for the church to be of much force in unifying the nations. But no one who looks deeper will deny that, after all, among Christians of whatever name, Catholic or Protestant, as the battlefields of France and Flanders testify in voices from the wounded and the dying, which speak louder than the voices of disunion, there is beneath these external divisions an inner, spiritual bond of

Digitized by Google

union which binds all Christians into one spirit around the undivided Christ.

Nor is it altogether accurate to say that the people in any country has lost such confidence in the church that it cannot influence government and, *if it will, produce a revolution in the whole life and thought of the world.* The Church of God can revolutionize the thinking of a nation, for what is a nation but an aggregation of individuals? If the regenerating gospel can convert the individual, it can convert any number of individuals. The people still reverence the church as in some way the only authoritative voice of God on this planet. In France such has been the loyalty of the Roman Church to the republic, her priests seeking no exemptions, but flocking to the colors and fighting with such contagious bravery in the trenches, that the bitter antagonism existing between church and state prior to the war has melted away in a common love for the fatherland. The outburst of Bolsheviki savagery against the church in Russia, demolishing churches, massacring priests, and repeating all the horrors of the French Reign of Terror, has in no wise destroyed the faith of the masses in the orthodox church, but has rather given it renewed life;

Digitized by Google

nor has the Greek Church in the Balkans or elsewhere lost its influence amid the cyclone of death and misery which has well-nigh exterminated those peoples. In England, the churches, both national and nonconformist, still kindle the fires of devotion, whatever disputes concerning church government or ecclesiastical conformity may cut deep lines of cleavage between representative bodies. In the United States, membership in all churches shows at present a decline in numbers owing to the war, but not since the founding of the republic have the people manifested deeper appreciation of the church, and never has it exerted such widespread influence in every zone and relation of American life. Hundreds of millions of money have been spontaneously thrown into the treasuries of the churches in response to their appeal for funds to carry on their work, while their evangelistic labors have quickened the sense of religion in every part of the country.

Never apparently was the modern church more deeply appreciated, at least in this country, for its work's sake. In vital touch with the surging life of polyglot America, it relates itself to all classes, and even through foreigners from every nation under heaven it awakens

Digitized by Google

in no small way the thinking of their relatives in the homeland. In congested cities, towns, and in the agricultural districts, in workshop and mill, in stores and factories, in the slums, which should not be tolerated, but where the poor and the unfortunate are huddled away, among laboring people everywhere, the church ministers through numerous agencies in countless ways—physical, social, spiritual, domestic.

In foreign fields, in every habitable country on the globe, missionaries, men of intellect, of scientific attainments in various professions, spread the evangel which has created the best there is in Western civilization, and sow the seeds of spiritual regeneration without which no people can come to a full realization of their worth and calling in history. The church is not dead, nor is she going to die. The day of materialistic thinking went down in blood and smoke on the battlefields of Europe, and whether all men believe in a personal, directing God or not, they do see that there is Something in the universe that works for righteousness.

On the whole, one who is acquainted with the history of the Christian Church and has carefully surveyed the present religious condition of the world, may well be within the rim

Digitized by Google

of undeniable fact should he state that not since the divisive period of the Reformation in the sixteenth century were the churches of Christendom so closely related or so cordially cooperative in good works as they are at this time. It is needless to furnish proof of this. Numerous evidences of it may be met with every day in towns and cities where there are different churches, and what is of universal experience is superfluous to prove.

Apart from any political suggestion, but proceeding solely from a sense of moral duty, among the means for realizing the purposes of the League of Nations *should be a more intimate and more frequent intercourse between the churches in Europe and those in the United States.*

Mutual acquaintance promotes understanding among different nationalities and ripens into friendship. Starting from the basic principle that it is the expressed will of God that all who believe in Jesus Christ as the Son of God and the world's Redeemer should make possible the coming of his kingdom—a possibility which never can be realized while war is recognized as the means for adjusting national contentions—there should be no ground for suspicion, political or religious, of representa-

Digitized by Google

tives of the churches meeting in open conferences for the sole purpose of promoting among the masses the psychological conditions of universal peace. No government that is signatory to the covenant could object, providing the propaganda were carried on in all countries, nor could any government complain that the church was going over its head to the people, or that the church, aided by representatives of a foreign church, was injecting itself between the government and the people contrary to governmental policy.

Whatever seeming danger may lurk here to well-meaning efforts, it will be dissipated when it is remembered that the churches of Europe are as loyal to their people and as interested in the welfare of their countries as are the churches in America to the future of the republic. The terrible war through which the world has just waded left no such taint of disloyalty to their governments on the churches in Europe as was openly charged against some in the United States.

The Evangelical Alliance, which years ago brought together in the United States and elsewhere the most representative scholars of international repute in all the churches, not only combated the evil effects of rationalism

Digitized by Google

and strengthened essential unity in the historic faith, but contributed greatly to the good will and comity existing between the nations represented. Thus also could the churches, by reciprocal visitation and by world-wide publicity of the needs and desires of the people in every nation, promote the cause of peace. However embittered the peoples of Central Europe may be toward the governments of the war-period which brought on the war and deceived them as to its causes, or even toward the American government for its effective participation in the defeat of Germany and her allies, there is no question among all classes but that the humanity of the American Red Cross and the generosity of the American churches in furnishing food and clothing for starving millions in Belgium, France, Italy, and the Germanic nationalities, have opened the way for closer friendship between the nations. They now see that America is not materialistic, selfish, seeking only commercial advantage at the expense of European labor, but while careful of its own interests, desires nothing more than to live in peace and amity with all other peoples.

Politicians discourse much on democracy as a means for uniting the nations without much

Digitized by Google

definition of its meaning, and the war-cry, "Making the world safe for democracy," has often been a fat text for a lean sermon. The definition of democracy by the immortal Lincoln as a "government of the people, for the people, and by the people," is perfectly intelligible to the American born in freedom with the ballot in his hand, but it is not so clear to those who have never known any government but the rule of force imposed from above. These people will have to learn that democracy is more than a form of government. Christian democracy, which the churches stand for, and which is the best type of democracy, seeks the highest moral as well as merely political good of all men, since without this moral foundation there can be no permanent bond linking the nations in real brotherhood. This kind of democracy supplies the necessary motive for permanence, as mere politics cannot, for at bottom, government is largely a matter of expediency. But the laws of God are not expedients. They are built into the constitution of our moral nature, and we must obey them or suffer the consequences. The future belongs to this Christian democracy because this democracy alone is basic. It is the enemy of oppression, but the apostle of free-

Digitized by Google

dom; the foe of anarchy, but the defender of law; the enemy of hate, but the promoter of love. It is universal in its scope. It knows no foreigners; it is the bond of brotherhood. It knows no race but the human race, neither Jew nor Gentile, neither Americans nor Russians, Englishmen nor Frenchmen, Germans nor Poles, Irishmen nor Italians, Hungarians nor Greeks, but, leaping over all boundaries, all barriers and distinctions of race and color, of poverty and wealth, of creed and nationality, it seeks justice, an open field and a fair chance for all men! This is Christian democracy. But there is no institution among men that has the power or the machinery to instill this kind of democracy into the minds and hearts of the people except the church of God; and it is through the church that this democracy, based fundamentally upon the spiritual nature of man, and not alone upon his physical needs, that may become the common possession and blessing of mankind.

Another means by which the church may help the League of Nations is by its *influence upon the press.*

In every country there is a section of the press which, assuming to be the mouthpiece of the nation, seems to exist for the sole pur-

Digitized by Google

pose of creating suspicion and misunderstandings between their own government and the government or people of some other country. Whatever the foreign government does is always done, in its opinion, with ulterior motives against its own virtuous people, and the home government is called upon to take decisive action to maintain the national honor or to forestall disaster to the nation's commercial interests. Failing to obey the hysterics of Jingoism, the government is abused, vilified, ridiculed, and made odious to the people, who never dreamed that because a member of Parliament in some other country insisted upon a certain tariff, a commercial war was meditated; or that because a Foreign Office denounced an outworn treaty severance of diplomatic relations would speedily follow, and that a *casus belli* was being concocted by the envious nation. Every act that affords the slightest opportunity for criticism is misinterpreted, every speech of premier or leader of opposition is distorted, every expression of opinion in the foreign press is an occasion for an insulting diatribe against the whole nation or the government of that people, until the victims of false news, of criminal inventions, begin to think that possi-

Digitized by Google

bly there is danger in the supineness of their own government, and that before it is too late the nation should be aroused to the seriousness of the situation! Thus there is created suspicion, distrust, fear, hatred in the public mind of both countries owing to the effect of mental contagion engendered by a Jingo press, but for which there exists absolutely no real foundation. Nevertheless, such nihilities are seriously discussed in Parliament and on the curb as menacing realities. News items are garbled, rumors begin to float, stocks fluctuate, coincidences occur, all confirmatory of the contentions of the omniscient, patriotic, but most pernicious evil that ever cursed the peace of a people.

How to offset the influence of such an evil is a problem which must be tackled if the peoples of Europe and America shall truly understand each other, and in all good faith repose in each other's honor and desire for peace. The freedom of the press cannot be annulled. Better that a people should be deceived by false rumors and garbled news (if it *will* depend upon an unscrupulous newspaper for its opinions) than that the liberty of the press should be taken away. Upon the freedom of the press depends the liberty of the people.

Digitized by Google

But the freedom of the press should be no greater than the freedom of the private citizen. Press freedom is a grant from the people, but the people never intended the grant should be greater than that exercised by themselves. Personal liberty is limited by laws enacted by the people for protection from libelous tongues and similar disturbers of the public peace.

In every country, therefore, the church through its agencies should demand a responsible press. For this is not simply a question of how much money a sensational newspaper might make off a credulous public, or the ignorance of a class, but a deeper and more important matter of maintaining cordial relations with countries abroad, and of truthfully informing public opinion at home. Attacks upon statesmen and government representatives of foreign countries, misrepresentation of policies, erroneous news, everything which without foundation in fact would create a breach of friendship between governments, should be corrected and the exact truth be given so far as it can be ascertained. The whole world now knows, and the German people now realize, how diabolically deceived they were by the German press inspired by the government. They were led to believe that

Digitized by Google

England, Russia, and France were all allied in a conspiracy to destroy the growing industry, the power, prestige, and expansion of the German people. Every increase of army or navy expenditures in England and France proved it. Every attempt of the Russian government to build a railroad eastward, proved it. Every ukase to restore the strength and morale of its army following the war with Japan, or effort to solidify the bonds of blood and gratitude between it and Slavic nationalities in the Balkans, proved it. The disclosures of diplomats, recent memoirs, and the documents brought forth by M. Kautsky from the archives at Potsdam, now open the eyes of the German people to the terrible deception practiced upon them by what Bismarck once called "the reptile press," itself deceived or criminally subsidized by a criminal government.

It seems impossible that a whole nation, which boasted of its culture and prided itself on its encyclopædic knowledge and general intelligence, could be so deceived without reflecting either upon its intelligence or its veracity. And yet if professors, ninety-three in number, of various universities—Berlin, Marburg, Heidelberg, Goettingen, Jena, and others—

Digitized by Google

were so grossly deceived that they had the hardihood to sign their names to the famous "Manifesto" which will stand as an indictment of German scholarship; if such once honored leaders of theological learning and criticism as Professors Deissman, Eucken, Harnack, with the literature of the world at their elbows and read with ingrained habit of critical scrutiny, could be deceived, as the facts now show them to have been, how much easier must it have been for a deceiving press to blind the judgment of the less intelligent millions whose only information concerning foreign affairs was obtained from such a source?

There would be little excuse for this if Christian journalism in all countries would leave its ancient ruts. The idea of the church press, with some notable exceptions both in England and America, seems to be that it is for denominational propaganda only, for local church news, details of progress, devotional reading, much of which should, of course, be published for its inspirational value and purposes of organization. But the Christian public, which constitutes a large part of the population in every country, and contributes to the formation of public opinion, should not be driven to the secular press for expert infor-

Digitized by Google

mation and judgment on questions of vital interest in national affairs. Great editors, because of their political training and grasp of world conditions, often exercise greater influence upon public opinion than President or Prime Minister, and by exposing fallacies or lurking dangers in Parliamentary or Congressional measures, compel a change in government policy or of popular opinion.

There is no reason why a church press could not exert corresponding influence. There is no reason, except a traditional or conveniently invented reason, why such a press should not step out from its barricaded sanctuary, from its paragraphical limitations in report, and comment on the world's thinking, and treat in largest fashion the questions which agitate the people. This can and should be done, not from the viewpoint of politics, but from the larger view of the kingdom of God. As intimated, some Christian papers do this, and just because they do they stand out in the world of journalism with a distinctive character and sphere of influence all their own. Here, then, is a vast field in the new era for the church press, and an opportunity—really a demand—for effective contribution to the League of Nations of the gravest significance.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER X

THE FUTURE

ANOTHER means by which the church can assist in the practical working of the League of Nations is *education.* Among the most important duties of the state is the education of the people. A vigorous but ignorant people is a sleeping menace. No one who reads The Eclipse of Russia, by one of the greatest of journalists, E. J. Dillon, especially the chapter "The Rule of the Bureau," will fail to see the cause of the terrible agony through which that empire is passing. But education, the purpose of which is the culture and development of the human spirit in those things which make for the noblest civilization, may be perverted and turned into an instrument which shall make only for the destruction of those who became its victims. This we see in the history of Germany since 1871. Then victory over France brought millions into her treasury, but changed the idealism of the people to materialism, their activities from agriculture to

Digitized by Google

industrialism, and as a result—national collapse in the world war. "No one," writes W. B. Dawson, in The Evolution of Modern Germany—"No one who knows Germany from its literature, its poetry, and philosophy, and who has followed its career during the past generation can have failed to recognize the immense change which has come over the national life and thought. A century ago idealism was supreme; half a century ago it had still not been dethroned; to-day its place has been taken by materialism." "A new spirit has entered into the national life. If the first half of the nineteenth century witnessed in Germany the reign of spirit, of ideas, the second half witnessed the reign of matter, of things, and it is this latter sovereignty which is supreme to-day."

Germany is not to be blamed for becoming an industrial nation. It was an economic necessity. A whole people, with a rapidly increasing population, cannot live upon ideas alone, any more than it can upon bread alone. But the blame is that the energy of the nation was turned by false education to the realization of false ideals, to the building of a vast militaristic empire for dominion and power over other nations. This is the crime of Ger-

Digitized by Google

many. For this purpose every industry and every individual, every shop and factory, every profession and calling, public school and university, became a part of the gigantic state machine. The empire became a camp. All things were made to work with scientific coordination to one definite, predetermined end —the supremacy of Germany over all other nations.

The means by which this was accomplished was education. History, economics, world-politics, science, philosophy were all taught from the standpoint of Prussian needs and aspirations. Ideas of the state, never held before, were invented in order to justify military purposes, and to establish the new imperial creed that every subject of the state existed solely for the state without regard to his individual rights. The drill sergeant became the teacher of Germany.

For a whole generation, from 1870 to 1914, the mind of Germany was subjected to this education and, at first gradually, but finally with alacrity, it submitted to the militaristic spirit. Now, what the state can do for purposes of war the church can do for the establishment of peace. By education through the press, platform and pulpit; by substitution of

Digitized by Google

the Christian conception of the state for pagan ideas of force and irresponsibility; by inculcating the principles of Jesus concerning the rights and the moral worth of man, the church in schoolroom and market place can at least attempt what publicists attempt in their writings and moralists in their books. This is to say there must be active agencies for the creation of public opinion favorable to peace and obnoxious to war.

But mankind will never attain to that degree of culture by itself, because man is by heredity a combative animal. He creates that social environment himself by which the instinct for war is developed and strengthened. It is only by the creation of another environment which will neither suggest nor afford opportunity or field for the shedding of human blood, that a social heredity can be created and transmitted to successive generations. We must breed out as well as breed in. There can be no elimination of war till the impulse to war is expelled from human thinking and social environment. The idols and symbols of heathenism do not remain alongside Christian altars where pagan people are to be converted, nor will reminders of pagan worship or participation in rites and ceremonies be permitted

Digitized by Google

to annul the impact of Christian ideas on the mind of the heathen slowly emerging from his idolatry. But once Christian principles are fixed in the mind of converts and the heathen community becomes a Christian community purged of all traces of heathenism, an environment is created in which children may grow up habituated in thought and practice to Christian living. But how is this change accomplished? By education. By the substitution of new ideals, new concepts, for the old.

Given an ideal attractive enough to arouse the depths of feeling and it will, in time, conquer the world. It is by such an appeal that all great achievements in war, in religion, in civilization have been accomplished. It is the inspiration of world-conquerors, of missionaries and martyrs; of great artists and nation-building statesmen, like Bismarck, whose ever-haunting dream was the subordination of the German states to the sovereignty of Prussia.

To create a new ideal in the soul of Christendom is the duty of the church. As Pope Urban at the Council of Constance created a collective mind in all Europe and originated the Crusades which lifted the spirit of Europe to the highest pitch of religious enthusiasm, it is possible for the church, *if she has the will,*

Digitized by Google

to create in every land an enthusiasm for humanity which, without fanaticism or disorder, will be the genesis of a new world. This, by means of education of the young, the church in time can accomplish. "Give us the young," cries Benjamin Kidd in his Science of Power, "and we will create a new mind and a new earth in a single generation."

No government signatory to the League Covenant could consistently oppose such a program, on the ground that by instilling such ideas into the mind of youth the defensive strength of the nation would be undermined. In the first place, such peace activities sanely directed would only be in harmony with the declared policy of the government signing the covenant. But should any government, signatory or not to the League, forbid such teaching on any pretext whatever, that government would awaken the suspicion of all other governments as to its designs. It would thus compel them to prevent any overt act on its part which would disturb the common peace. For not till the kingdom of God comes will, nor should, any nation deprive itself of the means of self-defense, or of acting in concert with other nations in policing the world.

Digitized by Google

But perhaps such weighty matters, after all, cannot be so easily settled. It is a profound question and contains elements of trouble both for the church and the state should conflict arise between them. A state, for example, while expressing adherence to the Covenant of the League, may nevertheless prohibit peace activities by the church on the ground of complete severance of church and state in matters of public policy. In such case no other nation could interfere in matters of internal administration. The question then arises, What would be the duty of the church? The duty of the church would be to "render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's." World war or world peace is not a question for Cæsar, but for humanity. To surrender to the state, in order that the state may continue war, is equivalent to the blunder of the early church, and of the Protestant churches at the Reformation, in forming an alliance with the state. The church cannot surrender the right to preach peace in an effectual manner, providing it does not put the state at a disadvantage as against other states, should the state interfere, and the church should accept the consequences of its refusal. Had the apostles of Jesus Christ

Digitized by Google

and the churches they founded surrendered to the state, there would be no Christianity to-day. The church can again suffer martyrdom for a great ideal which will bless mankind. It may be that some church, some nation, may yet have to die in order that the white race shall not perish. Of course there is no sort of analogy between the church and the so-called "conscientious objector." No church will refuse service to the state fighting in self-defense, but, on the contrary, it will inspire every patriot with love for his country, just as one will defend his home from the attack of a burglar, or the virtue of his family from the touch of vice.

Universal peace, with all the assistance the church may give statesmen and governments, cannot be realized at once. There must be a psychological cleansing of the nations. But if, as Mr. Kidd notes, in one or two generations Japan by the force of an ideal constantly held before the national mind, can emerge from what she was to what she is, from an isolated position in the world's affairs to a first-class power, from Oriental ways of thinking to the knowledge and use of Western science, or if in a single generation Germany, under the influence of new ideals, could

Digitized by Google

change from an agricultural, philosophical, art-loving people to the mightiest industrial and military power in history, if such achievements can be wrought under the inspiration of dynamic ideals, what is there that can render impossible a change in the thought of the world from warlike schemes to thoughts of peace and international law?

The opportunity of the church to become the leader of humanity was never so inviting as now. Never in all her history was there such chance for success, a louder call, a more imperative demand, for her to come out from her isolation into the wide horizons, the vast reaches of human affairs and lead the thought of the nations, as now. The world needs new ideals and new leaders. The old-world policies are gone, the day of Christ has come. Can the church see Him? Is the Church of Christ incapable of fulfilling her mission? Is she so blind, so worn and feeble that she is no longer able or fit to summon the best of Christendom to create a collective mind which shall apply the ideals of her Lord to the needs of humanity? That kind of a church, let us hope, is gone also, for, as M. Monod, president of the National Union of Churches in France, says, "If the present cataclysm has ended any

Digitized by Google

chimera, it is certainly the chimera of a Christianity merely ecclesiastical, doctrinal, individualistic, shut up in its sanctuaries, without program or horizon. A stranger to the spirit of the prophets, ignorant of the kingdom of God, it boasts of its declaration of the whole gospel, while it renounces all efforts to transform the political and social world."

But suppose the church fails to align herself with the governments desiring world peace, leaving world-problems to political experts, and these are left alone to struggle with such problems in the midst of a dissatisfied and bewildered world, and war is still the resort of the nations, what then? The *white race will destroy itself.* A few more wars like this war just ended will seal the doom of the white race in Europe. So deadly will become the weapons of warfare and so vast their range that no nation in Europe will live. So great will be the human loss and so complete the destruction, there will not be enough manpower left to build again the centers of civilization or to resist the possible invasion of the dark races.

In view of the discontent among the nationalities in Europe the Poles, Ukrainians, Rumanians, Bulgarians, the German people,

Digitized by Google

Austrians, the Turks and other people whose racial and national boundaries have been changed by the Treaty of Versailles, or who clamor for readjustment, it would require no great stretch of the imagination, should one take a pessimistic view of the future, starting from present disconcerting facts in world politics, to see Japan with the millions of China in her armies sweeping over disorganized Russia and in possession of northern Europe; to see the millions of the Mohammedan world, friends and allies of Germany, rise in a holy war in India, North Africa, Egypt, the Strait Settlements, and, as the Saracens once reached the gates of Vienna, pour into southern and southeastern Europe. Weakened by war and ever diminishing recuperative power, cities ruined, agriculture destroyed, populations starving, Europe, in such condition, could offer no sustained resistance. Even in this war the European nations were exhausted. France was bled white. England was on the edge of collapse; Germany, with forty years of preparation behind her, was unable to continue the conflict, and would have been annihilated had she not surrendered.

It must be either world peace or world war.

Digitized by Google

There is no alternative. The thoughtless optimist in fool's paradise who imagines that the world will now stand still; that the alien races will have no racial instinct for self expression; that without the expulsive power of new ideals of human brotherhood, of Christian civilization, the defeated nations in Europe will accept with thanksgiving the Treaty of Versailles as a permanent settlement, which in itself would be in fact and reality a League of Nations without formal covenant—such an impractical dreamer will have no advice to give heads of government responsible for a nation's welfare.

There is restlessness in the Mohammedan world. There is deep resentment in Japan against being officially designated as an inferior race. Germany will never acquiesce in the present map of Europe; and if she will abandon all designs to the westward, she yet hopes to extend her empire in the East. Although the Hindus and other peoples in India are as antagonistic to the Mohammedans as the Serbians are to the Bulgarians, nevertheless India will not always be submissive without autonomy to British rule, or only so at frightful cost. Japan cannot by the laws of nature remain as she is; the Islamic

Digitized by Google

world will not supinely submit always to the practical vassalage of the Sultan as the divine representative of the Mohammedan faith. If to prevent coalition of these nations, or to frustrate the designs of any one of them, a destructive war upon each in turn, as occasion may demand, should become a necessity for the preservation of Christendom, still it is clearly seen that such a remedy will only weaken the power or powers engaged, and leave it, or them, open to attack by warlike neighbors watchful of opportunity.

And so, again, by the mutual destruction of Europeans will grow the strength of the dark races. Nothing but a League of Nations and a binding together in Holy Alliance of Christian peoples, the abolishment of war and of the manufacture of war implements, universal education of the people in principles of justice and peace, and implicit confidence in the impartiality of a world court for the settlement of national disputes, will ever make impossible the results which further European wars will finally bring.

What may be the will of God as to the future we do not presume to know. But we do know that evil produces more evil, good more good; and that obedience to the revealed

Digitized by Google

will of God is the only safe path for men and nations.

With abiding faith that in the everlasting constitution of a moral universe all things work, and must all work together in unbroken harmony for good, as the ultimate goal of history, there is no ground left for doubt but that whatever may be the reverses of Christianity or the retrogressions of civilization in the future by the failures or follies of the present, the idea of the kingdom of God imbedded in the church at the beginning of time shall finally triumph over all opposing world forces, and "the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdom of our Lord, and of his Christ."

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

14 DAY USE
RETURN TO DESK FROM WHICH BORROWED

LOAN DEPT.

This book is due on the last date stamped below, or on the date to which renewed.
Renewed books are subject to immediate recall.

27Oct'62RC
REC'D LD
OCT 26 1962

JUN 15 1970 04
REC'D LD JUN 3 70 -8 PM 8 0

LD 21A-50m-3,'62
(C7097s10)476B

General Library
University of California
Berkeley

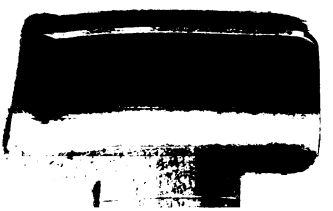
Digitized by Google

YB 06356

585999

JX1953
C6

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARY



Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google